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WHITHER ASIA?

A Study of Three Leaders

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BY

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Author of
"THE HERITAGE OF ASIA," "EPOCHS OF BUDDHIST HISTORY," ETC.

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WHITHER ASIA?

INTRODUCTION

THE SETTING OF THE STAGE

(i)

At the Renaissance and the Reformation the awakened West began to turn its attention to Asia. Spurred on by the spirit of adventure and of trade, England, France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland began those enterprises of which one result was to be the reawakening of Asia. For they sent not only soldiers and merchants, but priests and missionaries. Asia, at first proudly aloof, received them as suppliants, and while the great Moguls in India granted them trading privileges, the Manchus in China, proud in their splendid isolation, employed some of the missionaries as astronomers and mathematicians, but rejected the offer of trade. All this is a familiar story, and in the center of the stage there stand not only imperial rulers but the two proudest types of Asia, the Brahmin and the Mandarin. The former held that they had nothing to learn from "untouchables" from Europe; the latter despised these barbarians from beyond the confines of the Middle Kingdom as beyond the pale

of civilization. In Japan the inquisitiveness and teachability of the people offered welcome to the missionaries until it appeared that they were to be used as the cat's-paw of the soldier and merchant: so, like the Chinese, the people of Japan learned what they could from their visitors, and then closed their doors to the West.

But in India the great Moguls were succeeded by degenerate and feeble rulers, and in the civil wars between various kingdoms the Europeans gained a firm foothold and England eventually came to rule the country, first through the East India Company, then through Parliament. In China the Manchus held out longer, but their later rulers allowed Europe to impose its will upon China, and Japan alone remained mistress in her own house.

She then deliberately opened the door to Western mechanisms and ideas, and took what she wanted of them, at first with eager hands and then more cautiously as she began to understand that all was not well with Europe and America. Her history, indeed, is that of the almost miraculous transformation of an aloof, mediaeval people modernizing itself with insight and skill in one generation. The last of the three lands we are studying to answer the summons of the West, she was in fact the first to understand and to adopt Western civilization.

India, the first to hear the summons of the West, was in many things the slowest to respond. If in Japan it was the leadership of the Elder Statesmen which performed the miracle, in India it was the dominance of the Brahmin which held India back. But there were many other causes, and when about the beginning of the nineteenth century, India began to assimilate Western ideas and institutions, it was under the leadership of men who recognized that the house of India needed to be rebuilt from within.

This movement which is a true renaissance is still at work in India, whose spiritual leaders are slowly changing the Dharma or Indian way of life to meet modern demands. During this process there has been, as in Japan, first, eager interest accompanied by contempt for the old Indian heritage, followed by a reaction and a more cautious adoption of things Western. The fact is that India was sunk deep in the mire when Western teachers and missionaries began their work, and that both Indian and English reformers recognized grave need of social reform. Gradually the question arose: Is India to follow the Way offered by missionaries or to reform her own Dharma?

While this question is still unanswered, the fruits of Western education are to be seen in a growing spirit of revolution against outworn

tabus and a great cultural awakening, a growing spirit of nationalism and of social reform. "After a long winter of some centuries," says a leader of the modern school of thought, "we are to-day in one of the creative periods of Hinduism. We are beginning to look upon our ancient faith with fresh eyes. We feel that our society is in a condition of unstable equilibrium. There is much wood that is dead and diseased that has to be cleared away. Leaders of Hindu thought and practice are convinced that the times require, not a surrender of the basic principles of Hinduism, but a restatement of them with special reference to the needs of a more complex and more mobile social order. Such an attempt will only be the repetition of a process which has occurred a number of times in the history of Hinduism. The work of readjustment is in process. Growth is slow when roots are deep. But those who light a little candle in the darkness will help to make the whole sky aflame." [1]

What then has happened in India is the meeting of two widely different cultures, and the chief result has been a struggle within the soul of India expressing itself in the insurgent demand for a place in the sun, and a desire to be worthy of it. India wants to be free to make her own

[1] S. Radhakrishnan: *The Hindu View of Life.* London: Allen and Unwin. New York: The Macmillan Co. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

contribution to the life of the world. At the same time she knows that her chains are largely of her own forging, and that it is the provincialism and bitterness of the two great elements in her population which have hindered the processes of evolution. She has nevertheless learned much from Western political teachers, though she has paid a heavy price in the destruction of her old arts and in the rapid growth of a "slave mentality"—to use Mahatma Gandhi's phrase.

In China the process of awakening has also been painful. A nation, which for nearly three thousand years had regarded itself as a Middle Kingdom surrounded by barbarians has learned slowly that it has to take its place among the nations and that the "barbarians" have indeed very much to teach the "Sons of Heaven." Like India China was largely decadent when the West knocked at her doors. With much more caution than the people of India, the Chinese began to examine the ideas and customs of the newcomers, and a renaissance has emerged as a result of about a century of contact with the West. As in India it is an economic and political as well as a cultural awakening. "The New Tide" is the name the Chinese give to this flood of new ideas. In India the real soul of the revolution is Hindu: in China the real soul of the revolution is anti-Sinitic. Though attempts have been made to build

the new upon the old, there is in China much more revolt against the dead hand of the past than there is in India; and as in India there have been volcanic eruptions like the Sepoy rebellion of 1857, which was in a measure a premature attempt at revolution, so there have been in China rebellions like that of 1851-65 and that known as the Boxer rebellion of 1900. But both great countries have had to wait until well into the twentieth century for more constructive revolutionary movements. And these are the fruit of the French and American revolutions, and of the principles which the West has introduced.

The questions raised by these immense movements in all three countries are of far-reaching importance. Can Japan unify her government and keep her military party in check, or will she commit suicide by alienating the sympathy of the world and losing her chief markets, which are China and America? How can she meet her pressing problems of overpopulation and lack of raw materials? Will the policies of liberalism and of coöperation voiced by leaders like Kagawa prevail over the prussianism of these other leaders?

Can China command the foreign loans which she needs to develop her own resources and to educate her people? Will she be protected and helped by her neighbor, Japan, or exploited and

driven to despair and to war? Can she command the moral leadership which is perhaps her chief need, and can she win the confidence of the West which has done much to exploit her but has also awakened her to her place among the peoples? One who knows her well has put the present situation in a few pregnant sentences: "Only a few years ago China was a sea lashed by the hurricane of revolution; but even then the firm rock was being formed, slowly, like a coral reef, and the prophetic eye could see that one day it would rise above the surging tide to make a secure foundation for the homes of men. To-day the rock is above the surface, and the far-sighted Chinese may claim that, despite all the evils of strife, upon it is set a beacon of promise." [2]

Turning to India, we may ask whether it is the National Congress or a reconstructed Federal Government which can best express the soul of India, help her to put her own house in order, heal the breach between Hindu and Mohammedan, and remove the reproach from Indian social institutions?

In the three great figures whom we are to study, we may find partial answers to these difficult questions. All are staunch critics of the weaknesses of their own people as well as of their

[2] Sir Frederick Whyte: *The Future of East and West.* London: Sidgwick and Dickson.

governments. All are in fact preachers of a new morale which alone can build the new society. The manifold problems of Asia are, like those of the West, primarily spiritual problems, and the two halves of humanity may well approach one another in a new and humbler spirit; for each now sees clearly the moral bankruptcy of the other, and yet each sees in its own heritage and in the heritage of the other half of humanity living values which must not be lost. Once more the marriage of East and West has taken place, and if it is to be one of a true partnership, each must remain true to its own heritage and open to that of the other.

What is it that has made the West the aggressive partner in this new enterprise? It is surely that spirit of inquiry which is to be seen at work in the search for truth and in the triumphs of science: it is also in that impulse to master nature, and to make a garden of the wilderness which is our Hebrew heritage. Christianity, which is the heir of both, is now concerned with the application of science to human betterment, and this is not a program which Asia will reject.

The heritage of Asia, which we in our turn must study, is to be seen in the other-worldly outlook of India which makes a synthesis of the secular and the religious; in the humanism and rationalism of China which sees man as rooted

in "the good earth," and seeks to order his society harmoniously and in the æstheticism which has produced so much that is of classic value. In the utilitarianism of the Japanese, in their love of nature and in their resolute loyalty to the state there is much to study and to imitate. But Asia has more to learn than to teach, the new wine will inevitably be poured into the old bottles, and the values of the Christian religion, its emphasis upon personality and upon the spirit of service are already a potent leaven in Asia, giving new power to old religions, and patterns to new movements. As it is the personality of the three leaders which has arrested the attention of their people, so it is the personality of Jesus, so universal in its appeal, which has arrested the attention of these leaders. On this they may shed new and timely light, revealing Him as the Son of Man. For He is fulfilling many old Asiatic ideals as well as supplying new ones of which Asia stood in dire need. If, as Gandhi says, there is no God higher than truth, it is also true that there is no category higher than personality, and we may see in the unique personality of Christ a blending of East and of West. Here, indeed, the two halves of the race can and do meet, in His constructive program of the Kingdom of God, which calls upon the nations to work for the common good of humanity, and to sacrifice their selfish aims

in the interests of the whole. In a world so unified as ours and yet so divided, there is nothing more practical than a common ideal and a common loyalty.

(ii)

In studying the three great moral and intellectual leaders of modern Asia we may learn much both of the characteristic cultures of three great countries and of the impact which the Western world has made upon them. All three are in a very true sense the product of this mingling of East and West. They are in fact the best indication that it is for good and not for evil. All have drunk deep at the springs of their native land, have studied in the West, and have continued to drink at Western springs. They are in fact in varying degree prophets of a new synthesis.

This will be challenged as a paradox with regard to Mahatma Gandhi, who seems at first sight the hostile critic and enemy of the West. Yet he is a lawyer and a very able one, trained in London and practicing in South Africa as well as in India, and he has many times spoken of the influence of Western writers upon his life and thought. He is, in fact, in his own person, a blend of the Western ideal of active social and political life with the Indian ideal of detachment and other-worldliness. We may say that, fulfilling the

old Indian ideal of the saint, he has filled it with new meaning by relating it to the very concrete details of political and social reform, and that Western ideals of democracy and Western economic theories have inspired much of his activity.

Hu Shih, who is doing much to lead China out into the modern world, has given us a clear and humorous picture of how the Western world with its optimism and energy converted him from "senility" and skepticism to enthusiasm and vigor. Yet he is a worthy representative of the *Chun-tse* or scholarly gentleman of ancient China. Criticizing the classical heritage of his people he offers them a naturalistic conception of life, and reinterprets their history as that of a humanist and rationalist people drugged through long centuries by the "opium pipe" of other-worldliness. In comparison with the exploitation of human labor in China, he regards the machine civilization of the West as spiritual, and praises the self-reliance which it produces, its desire for knowledge and its application of science to life. Above all he believes that "the most spiritual element in science is its skepticism, its courage to believe nothing for which there is insufficient evidence," and he maintains that "the religion of democracy . . . is the greatest spiritual heritage of the West."

Here then, we have an orthodox Hindu leading India to miraculous reforms of Hinduism,

and a Confucian scholar breaking away from the bonds of Confucianism to set his country free.

It is the Christian socialist, Toyohiko Kagawa, who is probably exerting the greatest influence upon Japan—a nation which is at once the child of India and China, and the apt pupil of the West. So far has his country gone along the road of imitation of Western industrialism and imperialism that he is convinced that it is not by a reform of the existing religions, still less by way of secularism, that she can be saved. Educated alike in Confucian thought and Buddhist mysticism, he became a Christian in his student days, and has applied the gospel of love unflinchingly in the slums which industrialism created, and which his religious passion has rebuilt. Standing like Gandhi as the champion of the poor, he is like Hu Shih a staunch advocate of Western science in its application to human betterment.

If Gandhi is *Mahatma,* and Hu Shih is *Chun-tse,* Kagawa is *Samurai.* And as these other ideals are being fulfilled in new ways, so *Samurai,* which once meant "servant of the overlord" is now coming to mean "servant of the people." May we not say that in the person of Kagawa and his manifold sacrifices it has come to mean "suffering servant"? "I am the fool of Christ," he says, and in his bodily sufferings and ceaseless work he has

been called upon to undergo far more than his Master did in the brief three years of his public life.

This study, then, must look to the rock from which these three leaders are hewn. It must seek to discover the living sources, alike in their oriental heritage and in their Western environment, at which they have drunk deepest. And while their figures are fairly familiar to the Western world there seems to be but little understanding of their real significance in the renaissance of Asia. Gandhi is thought of as the leader of India's fight for freedom rather than as the rebuilder of Indian civilization. Kagawa is recognized as a brilliant novelist and preacher, but is far less known as the rallying center of pacifist and anti-imperialist forces, or as the creative thinker who is giving to his country a religious interpretation of science and a scientific application of religion to life. Hu Shih is known as "the father of the Chinese literary Renaissance," and as the champion of Western civilization; he is not understood as one who has striven to graft the new learning upon the old, the stern critic of national failings, and a leader in nation-building, or as the champion of free speech and prompt and drastic political action and social reform.

In order then to throw light upon these three figures I have felt it well to trace, however

briefly, the development of Hindu ideals of sainthood in India, of the Christian movement in Japan and of the Enlightenment in China. This may seem a modern growth, but its roots are in the Sung Era when Confucian scholars blent Indian thought with that of China, and experiments were made in the emancipation of thought and even in state socialism. If, for example, Hu Shih acknowledges a debt to John Dewey, who taught him to think well and to argue clearly, he learned this also from his Confucian father and from his whole background of Confucian learning, for Confucius no less than Dewey insists that "words must be made to fit things." The rationalists and naturalists of China have also greatly influenced Hu Shih, and he is to-day a rebel against orthodox Confucianism. As for the gentle art of compromise which he says he learned from John Morley—it is an art carried to extremes in China, and Morley himself learned much from India. And the pacifism which Hu Shih learned from a long succession of Chinese such as Lao-tse, Mo-ti and others is reinforced by his study of the Sermon on the Mount and the example of Jesus.

It is surely revealing that all these three leaders are avowed pacifists, and in their very reasonable and practical philosophies of life they claim to have found the Sermon on the Mount a chief

source of inspiration. It has reinforced their own teachers.

For if Kagawa is the devoted follower of Christ, he learned much from Buddhist quietism and Confucian reason. These aspects of his early training have made him a pioneer in coöperating with Buddhists, and have also deepened his own spiritual life in ways which suggest that there is in the old cultures much which a Christianized and modernized Japan will do well to preserve. The Orient should be cautious in orienting itself to the Occident! Kagawa has much to teach Hu Shih upon this.

This conviction is deepened when we turn to Gandhi, whose whole system is based upon a Hindu tripod—chastity, gentleness and soul force. These living truths he derives from his Hindu heritage, and reinforces from his study of the teachings of Jesus, especially in the literal interpretation given them by Tolstoi.

(iii)

What is the secret of the amazing hold which these three leaders, so different from one another, have upon their people? The West is familiar with the vast following which Gandhi as saint and politician commands in India. It is less familiar with the enormous circulation of the

writings of Kagawa, and with the great crowds which hang upon his words as he preaches the gospel of Christ or popularizes economic and scientific truths. Still less, I think, is it familiar with the fact that when Hu Shih lectures upon philosophy or science, or upon science as the best philosophy, crowds of illiterate Chinese as well as students crowd to hear him. When I last met him he had come through an ordeal. Expecting to lecture to medical students in English he not only had to do this, but to repeat the lecture twice in Chinese to the crowds who surged in unexpectedly, having heard that he was to speak. His name is famous throughout China.

When I last saw Kagawa he said humorously, "There is danger that our people will become Christian by government order"; for I found that his meetings, once under police supervision, were now thronged by masses who had been urged by their rulers to attend them as teaching a middle path between communism and capitalism. Nor is it generally known how bitter is the opposition to Kagawa, for this very reason—that he opposes Marxian socialism, and the popular economic interpretation of history.

When I last saw Gandhi he pledged himself to open the caste system to the untouchables, and said with a humorous twinkle in his eye, "I am their best friend, though their leader opposes me

at the round-table conference," and he added, "I am also a good friend to England; she can have all she wants in India, if she remains there as partner, not as master." Gandhi, the friend of England, is a figure too little known in the United States where a series of intemperate books have set him forth as the arch enemy of England. Still less is Gandhi, the revolutionary reformer of Hinduism, understood, for Hinduism itself is a sealed book!

It is in the hope that more attention will be paid to these matters that this book is written. It is high time that the Western world took more trouble to understand Asia. Sentimental enthusiasm is as useless as prejudice and ignorance. What Asia asks is that we understand her.

Maybe in time we shall be able to cure our present astigmatism in education, and a few schools and colleges, at any rate, may become bifocal, looking steadily at the West, but not ignoring the East. What is wanted, I think, is not departments of oriental studies which will always cater to the few, but rather courses upon Asia in the existing departments of art, philosophy, history and politics. This little book is written not for scholars, but for ordinary people who desire to understand the world they live in. And the reawakening of Asia is a very large and important part of that world.

It aims at answering the question "Whither Asia?" and at suggesting the three paths by which nearly a billion people are traveling toward freedom. First is the path of reform of the ancient heritage; second is the path of complete westernization; third is that of a careful blend of old and new.

Yet the issues are not as clear-cut as this: for as we have seen these leaders are all influenced by the West. Perhaps the real issue is that between Gandhi and Kagawa on the one hand—religious realists who believe that only by way of suffering and sacrifice can Asia be set free—and Hu Shih, on the other, who regards religion as an opiate, and believes that the remedy for the evils of China is modern science and democracy.

In these three figures we may also seek an answer to many questions which are troubling the West. Are the symbols of Christianity outworn? What is the modern spirit? Where can man find certainty and a sound faith in a reasonable universe?

Is the credo of Gandhi tenable? Is that of Hu Shih sound philosophy? Has Kagawa found Truth in a deeper and more universal fashion than either of his contemporaries? These are questions of very far-reaching significance, and by way of contrast we may set side by side their own expressions of the faith that is in them.

(iv)

THREE CREEDAL STATEMENTS:

(a) *Mahatma Gandhi's Creed*

"To me God is Truth and Love; God is ethics and morality; God is fearlessness; God is the source of Light and Life, and yet He is above and beyond all these. God is conscience. He is even the atheism of the atheist. For in His boundless love God permits the atheist to live. He is the searcher of hearts. He transcends speech and reason. He knows us and our hearts better than we do ourselves. He does not take us at our word; for He knows that we often do not mean it, some knowingly and others unknowingly.

"God is personal to those who need His personal presence. He is embodied to those who need His touch. He is all things to all men. He is in us and yet above and beyond us. Man may banish the word 'God' in taking an oath, but he has no power to banish the Thing itself.

"God cannot cease to be because hideous immoralities or inhuman brutalities are committed in His name. He is long-suffering. He is patient, but He is also terrible. He is the most exacting personage in the world and the world to come. He metes out the same measure to us that we mete out to our neighbors—men and brutes. With Him ignorance is no excuse. And withal He is

ever-forgiving; for He always gives us the chance to repent. He is the greatest democrat the world knows, for He leaves us (unfettered) to make our own choice between evil and good. He is the greatest Tyrant ever known, for He often dashes the cup from our lips and under cover of free will leaves us a margin so wholly inadequate as to provide only mirth for Himself at our expense.

Gandhi's Six Points

"1. I believe in the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas, and all that goes by the name of Hindu Scriptures, and therefore in Avataras (divine incarnations) and rebirth.

"2. I believe in Varnashrama Dharma (caste) in a sense strictly Vedic, but not in its present popular and crude sense.

"3. I believe in Cow Protection in a much larger sense than the popular belief.

"4. I do not disbelieve in 'idol-worship.'

"5. I believe implicitly in the Hindu aphorism that no one truly knows the Scriptures who has not attained perfection in Innocence (Ahimsa), Truth (Satya), and Self-control (Brahmacharya), and who has not renounced all acquisition or possession of wealth.

"6. I believe, along with every Hindu, in God and His Oneness, in rebirth and salvation." [3]

[3] Quoted from "Young India" in C. F. Andrews, *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas* (London, Allen and Unwin; New York, Macmillan Co.). Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

(b) *Hu Shih's Ten Points*

"1. On the basis of our knowledge of astronomy and physics, we should recognize that the world of space is infinitely large.

"2. On the basis of our geological and paleontological knowledge, we should recognize that the universe extends over infinite time.

"3. On the basis of all our verifiable scientific knowledge, we should recognize that the universe and everything in it follow natural laws of movement and change—'natural' in the Chinese sense of 'being so of themselves'—and that there is no need for the concept of a supernatural Ruler or Creator.

"4. On the basis of the biological sciences, we should recognize the terrific wastefulness and brutality in the struggle for existence in the biological world, and consequently the untenability of the hypothesis of a benevolent Ruler.

"5. On the basis of the biological, physiological, and psychological sciences, we should recognize that man is only one species in the animal kingdom and differs from the other species only in degree, but not in kind.

"6. On the basis of the knowledge derived from anthropology, sociology, and the biological sciences, we should understand the history and causes of the evolution of living organisms and of human society.

"7. On the basis of the biological and psychological sciences, we should recognize that all psychological phenomena are explainable through the law of causality.

"8. On the basis of biological and historical knowledge, we should recognize that morality and religion are subject to change, and that the causes of such change can be scientifically studied.

"9. On the basis of our newer knowledge of physics and chemistry, we should recognize that matter is full of motion and not static.

"10. On the basis of biological, sociological, and historical knowledge, we should recognize that the individual self is subject to death and decay, but the sum total of individual achievement, for better or for worse, lives on in the immortality of the Larger Self; that to live for the sake of the species and posterity is religion of the highest kind; and that those religions which seek a future life either in Heaven or in the Pure Land, are selfish religions.

"This new credo is a hypothesis founded on the generally accepted scientific knowledge of the last two or three hundred years. To avoid unnecessary controversy, I propose to call it, not a 'scientific credo,' but merely 'the Naturalistic Conception of Life and the Universe.' " [4]

[4] Reprinted by permission of "The Forum and Century Magazine." Copyright February, 1931.

(c) *Kagawa's Five Fundamentals*

"Christ is not for doctrines only.

"I. *Christ stands for piety.* Whether we are Fundamentalists or Modernists, let us stand for piety in Christ. Let us live in God. Christ lived in God and God lived in Christ. Piety was there. Without piety our life is vain; our social movement is vain; our economic project in vain. God stands above all. In America they talk about the Social Gospel. I don't like that word. God is greater than Society. God is greater than simply a social teaching. God stands above all. But some consider their own religion as evangelical and preach only, and hesitate to practice, the love of Christ. That is not being evangelical. True evangelicalism is piety toward God and pious living toward human beings. Many talk about the experience of the Holy Spirit. But to them it means only that a person is a cleansed individual. The sanctification of the Holy Spirit is not only the sanctification of the individual, but of society. We must experience the Holy Spirit not only in our own souls but in the bigger heart, our downtrodden proletarian heart. Everywhere we must find the Holy Spirit. You remember Matthew, 25th Chapter, how Christ describes those poor naked people in the passage beginning 'Inasmuch.' Where they are saved, He says, there is

the Spirit of Christ. The Holy Spirit is there everywhere in the human heart. Piety does not mean to close our doors. Not so! We must live holy lives everywhere in society. You remember St. Paul describes how the Holy Spirit is suffering. (Romans 8:26.) The Holy Spirit is suffering wherever the poor live a miserable life in the slums.

"I do the Social Movement, not because I am a socialist, nor a communist, but because I am a Christian, because I feel that the Holy Spirit is suffering. You remember the great Pietist movement in Germany, how they toiled, how they came together in Herrnhut, and how only 600 brothers sent forth 200 missionaries. That is our example—piety, and the social movement combined. And we experience the Holy Spirit not only in our own souls but even in society.

"II. *Christ the Source of Labor.* In Japan people do not like to work, because we consider labor very tiresome. About ten years ago when I wrote an essay in a magazine I was called to court. The judge told me I was fined. I had to pay one hundred yen, because I wrote: 'There is no difference between a king and a laborer.' Many of you remember that in Roman history the slaves worked and the free citizens did not like to work. Christ Himself made labor sacred. In Japan

when Christianity came people began to consider that life is a joy and labor is to be honored. Without Christ, the Labor Movement is a terrible thing of class struggle.

"III. *Christ the Source of Purity* in Japan. For thousands of years we had the system of concubinage. We kept many wives. But after Christ came to Japan, that system died out. We had the system of licensed prostitution, but after Christ came the Christians fought against it. Fifty years ago we had many divorces, 430 in a 1000 marriages; now there are only 107 in a 1000. Because Christ came the divorce rate of Japan decreased. Christ taught us divorce is wrong. Christ gave us purity.

"IV. *Christ the Source of Peace.* He gave us peace in our hearts, and peace in society. We used to have the caste system. There were four castes: (1) The knights; (2) the farmers; (3) the shopkeepers; (4) the industrial workers. And besides these there were millions looked down on as outcastes. When Christ came, everything of the caste system was broken down. A peace movement, especially an anti-war movement developed among Christian believers. When General Tanaka, the late premier of Japan, sent troops to Shantung, many Christians and labor leaders who were Christians were opposed to it

and we had a great mass meeting to protest. We stand for peace—for international peace, for peace in society, for peace in the heart.

"V. *Christ the Source of the Spirit of Service.* From Christ people got the spirit of service, the spirit of sacrifice, and the spirit of the Cross. People were willing to serve the poor, and willing to let their own children do such service, e.g., as nurses. Sixty years ago, when Buddhism had forgotten how to serve in charity work, Christians began charity work in Japan. In the slums philanthropic work is being done by Christians. I can tell you many wonderful stories of how Christians dared to serve the poor. That sort of example gave credit to Christianity, and the people who have followed Christ did so because Christianity was a genuine religion. If it had been simply preaching, people would not have followed, but because Christians were eager to serve, those who appreciated this spirit of service followed Christ.

"Christ is the Source of Life, and you as the representatives of Christ will do a great work in China, because you are his followers. Christ gave us power—Life. I respect Confucius and I respect Buddha, but they lack life power. When Christ came to me I was revived. I got new life. And when I consider the moral deficiency of Buddhism and Confucianism, and the

difference between their position and that of Christ, it is very easy for me to preach His teachings. Without God I was suffering. I was weeping. But when the power of God came to me, everything became very easy. Christ is the Source of Life, and I can give testimony to you that Christ has changed Japan." [5]

[5] From an address in China, 1932.

PART I

MAHATMA GANDHI
AND
THE INDIAN IDEAL OF SAINTHOOD

To those who are detached from desire and from anger, who practice self-control and are restrained in mind, knowing the true self—to them is salvation nigh.

—*Bhagavad-gita.*

MAHATMA GANDHI

(i)

INDIA has many names for her saints. The oldest is *rishi* or Seer of the Unseen. She believes that in the beginning these seers discovered Reality, and that their vision of it is handed on in her sacred books. These books teach that by austerity of body and spirit men attain to this vision: "Uprightness, truth, study of scripture, serenity, self-control, liberality. These are the true austerity." [1]

The most popular of her sacred books, the "Bhagavad Gitā" [2] or "Song of the Lord," describes the saint as a Yogi detached from the world yet living in it, renouncing its lures, and doing his duty without hope of reward. In other words this great book brings the ideal down to earth, and makes it possible for the layman to be a saint; and the teaching of the four stages of life makes it possible for man to find salvation at each stage and sets forth a relative

[1] *Taittirya Upanishad* III, 10.1.
[2] The date is about the beginning of the Christian Era, but much of its material is four or five centuries earlier.

ethic. Thus in the first stage the boy is a pupil in the house of his teacher, and has one set of duties which are at once religious and secular, for India makes no clean-cut distinction. In the next he is a householder, again doing the duties of his station in a religious spirit. In the third he leaves home to detach himself gradually from the concerns of the world, and in the last stage he is a recluse, fully detached from all human ties, homeless and a mendicant.

India also recognized at an early stage in her development that each caste had its own work to do, and we find Krishna in the "Gita" teaching the pacific Arjuna that he must fight, and that only so can he win salvation. Horrible as civil war is, it is his caste duty to take part in it, but he can do so in the spirit of the Yogi "still as a flame in a windless place,"—"like a tortoise with its limbs withdrawn within its shell." More familiar still is the simile of the lotus growing undefiled in the mud—India's favorite symbol of sainthood.

This was an ideal popularized by the Buddha in the sixth century B.C., and to this ideal of detached holiness he added his own ideal of compassion. The true saint is one who "out of pity for the world" postpones his own salvation, or escape from rebirth. He remains in the flesh to serve his fellow men; and there are many beauti-

ful phrases to describe this spirit of service: "Let me be a physician to the sick, a friend to all men, a very sweeper for humility." [3]

The loving and magnetic personality of the Buddha drew men and women of all classes to him, and he has molded the Indian ideal of sainthood more than any other until now. He is still a living inspiration to leaders like Tagore and Gandhi.

But as Hindus they are even more influenced by the ideals of the "Gita" with its central concept of a Divine Lover in whose love is the core of sainthood: "he who is intent on Me and worships Me is the best of men: friendly and compassionate, balanced and detached, patient and content, calm and meditative—such a man is dear to me." [4]

India has no nobler heritage than in these devotees and in their spirit of detachment and self-discipline. In ideal they are lovers of men as well as of God. But they have not, for the most part, concerned themselves with social service. This they left to kings and statesmen, for the old dualism reasserted itself, and the layman "entangled in activity" was conceived as being on a lower plane than the holy man.

With the coming of Christianity and of West-

[3] Santideva's *Path of Light, passim.*
[4] *Gita,* XII, *passim.*

ern idealism to India the ideal of the suffering servant appeared in an arresting form, and it is in the blending of this ideal with that of the older Indian tradition that Mahatma Gandhi is to be understood. *Mahatma* means "great soul," and the title is India's recognition that in him her old ideal of sainthood is realized. It has come unsought; and when he was asked by members of Parliament what the title meant he replied: "It means a very unimportant person." Such humility is of the essence of sainthood, and it is by identifying himself with the poor that he has won his great place in India. When an ardent disciple said to him "Mahatmaji,[5] you have the intellectual and spiritual power of the Brahmin, and the practical ability of the Warrior," he replied, "I hoped you were going to say the spirit of the Sūdra." *Sūdras* are the lowest of the four castes, whose one duty is service; and his identification of sainthood and service is conscious and deliberate. In making it, he has made articulate the unvoiced aspirations of his people: for India had long been familiar with men of lowly occupations, and even with outcastes who have achieved sainthood. A saint is one who makes God visible; and this will help to explain the vast multitudes who come to gaze at the homely and humble figure of the Mahatma as a religious exercise. He has moreover assumed the rôle of

[5] *Ji* is a diminutive of endearment.

religious teacher and his school or *asram* at Sabarmati is in effect at once a school of religion, a school of social reform, and a school of politics. It is a hard school, and makes immense demands upon the morale of its scholars, and it insists that religion cannot be separated from life.

(ii)

Some six years ago I went to see it, and to talk with the Mahatma, with whom I had long corresponded. I found him seated in a small whitewashed room at his spinning-wheel. All day long the stream of visitors continued, students reporting upon the success of his campaign of spinning, political leaders of Hindus and Mohammedans, leaders of the non-coöperation movement. He met all with the same calm and friendly spirit. I had just come from several weeks at the school of Dr. Tagore where every one was literally at the feet of the poet, continually "taking the dust" from them in reverent salutation, and giving him the great title "*Gurudev,*" or "divine teacher." The Mahatma, on the other hand, is for all his people *Bapu* or daddy, and the outcaste children whom he has taken into his house are as dear to him as the intimate friends who have shared the burdens of life with him.

I spent part of the day visiting his spinning-

school and reading "Young India" in a bare cell of the *asram.* In the evening, as the sun was setting, we gathered on the banks of the river, and here he led us in simple and devout worship. Across the river rose the chimneys and the smoke of the factories of Ahmedabad, and one's mind was filled with the contrast between this mediaeval yet very practical school which is teaching the Indian villager to be self-supporting, and these outposts of Western industrialism, in which he sees the great enemy of his people. There came to my mind William Blake and "the dark satanic mills." Like Blake Gandhi is a fighting pacifist:

> I will not cease from mental fight
> Nor shall the sword sleep in my hand . . .

The lines are a true description of his long and heroic career as the spearhead of a great attack upon race prejudice and the exploitation of the poor.

Before I left I asked him if he would not write a meditation upon the cross of Jesus, for surely no one has so fully entered into that great experience of self-imposed suffering. "I never write anything except it comes out of the practical problems of my life," was his reply. Nevertheless he has written much that is relevant to the understanding of Christ, and he has embodied in his school the principles beaten out on the

anvil of experience. He exacts of all students vows which embody these principles.

First comes the vow of truth: and truth means truth at any cost. He is fond of referring to the story of the young boy Prahlad, which as C. F. Andrews says is as well known in India as the story of the boy George Washington is known in America; and probably has more foundation in truth. This boy, who has become a hero to India, defied his own father in the cause of truth, but refused to strike back. And this leads to the second vow, the vow of innocence, *Ahimsā.* Every Indian knows the saying "Ahimsā is the highest religion," but Gandhi has gone much farther than any other in making it a positive ideal. "To one who follows this doctrine there is no room for an enemy. But there may be people who consider themselves to be enemies . . . we may not harbor an evil thought in connection with such persons. If we return blow for blow we depart from the doctrine of Ahimsā. But I go farther: if we resent a friend's action or the so-called enemy's action we still fall short of this doctrine. But when I say we should not resent, I do not say that we should acquiesce: by the word resenting I mean wishing some harm should be done to the enemy; or that he should be put out of the way, not even by any action of ours, but by the action of somebody else, or say

by divine agency. If we harbor even this thought we depart from these doctrines of non-violence." [6]

In other words Ahimsā has come to mean something much more than non-violence; Gandhi makes it equivalent to love. In his belief in its power he is more Tolstoian, or Christian, than Hindu.

Third comes the vow of celibacy, which is intimately connected with the two former vows. "Those who want to perform national service, or to have a gleam of the real religious life, must lead a celibate life whether married or unmarried."

Akin to this is the vow of the control of the palate, for he believes that the vast majority of people overindulge in food, and that by returning to strict vegetarianism and a meagre diet his people are best prepared for their spiritual work. To these he adds the vow of non-thieving, interpreted in his own drastic way. Disavowing socialism for himself he says, "I dare not possess anything I do not want. In India we have many millions of people who have to be satisfied with one meal a day, consisting of unleavened bread without fat, and a pinch of salt. You and I have no right to anything . . . until these many mil-

[6] From *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas,* by C. F. Andrews. (London, Allen and Unwin; New York, Macmillan.) Reprinted by permission of the publishers. The brief quotations from Gandhi throughout this Part are also chiefly from this source.

lions are clothed and fed." In other words he exacts the vow of poverty from those who join him.

Even more characteristic of him is the vow of Swadeshi. This means local self-support, and refers both to one's own locality and to one's country. "When we find that there are many things we cannot get in India we must try to do without them . . . in your village you are bound to support your village barber to the exclusion of the finished barber who may come to you from Madras." It is this principle which has led the Mahatma and his followers into the most complex and dubious of their activities—the destruction of foreign cloth. "Foreign cloth is like foreign matter to the body." And they resort not only to medicine but to surgery.

Akin to the vow of Swadeshi are the rules that education should be given through the vernacular, and that *khaddar* or homespun should be made and worn. This is to recognize the dignity of labor as well as to support home industries. Behind it is the conviction, burned into his soul, that India is being killed, body and soul, by exploitation from abroad. Foreign clothes are a badge of shameful acquiescence in this.

The vow of fearlessness is a vow to fear God only, and the vow regarding the untouchables is a repudiation of the "ineffaceable blot" upon

Hinduism. "I think that this miserable, wretched and slaving spirit of 'untouchableness' must have come to us when we were at our lowest ebb. . . . It is to my mind a curse that has come to us and as long as that curse remains with us so long I think we are bound to consider that every affliction in this sacred land is a proper punishment for the indelible crime that we are committing."

Lastly, comes the religious use of politics. Every child in the school is taught to understand the political institutions of the country, and its new national aspirations. "But we want also the steady light, the infallible light of religious faith."

Some of Gandhi's sayings upon these central principles of his life have become classical:

If untouchability and caste are convertible terms the sooner caste perishes the better for all concerned.

If blood must be shed let it be our blood.

Passive resistance is always infinitely superior to physical violence.

There is no God higher than Truth.

Celibacy enables us to lead a life of full surrender to God.

India should wear no machine-made clothing, whether it comes of European or Indian mills.

Truth is the first thing to be sought for, and beauty and goodness will then be added unto you; that is really what Christ taught in the Sermon on the Mount.

(iii)

The foundation of Mahatma Gandhi's thought and the inspiration of his life is to be found in Indian devotion, or *Bhakti.* The roots of this principle are in the "Rig Veda" where we find passages such as the following: "As a wife embraces a dear young lord newly wed so do we embrace Indra." This devotion to a personal god has played a great part in Hindu religion. Where the god has been one of noble character this passion has been an ennobling one, and in the west of India, to which Gandhi belongs, there has been little of that eroticism which in some other parts has enervated religion. Gandhi has told us that he turns back again and again in times of difficulty or sorrow to the passages in the "Gita" which voice devotion to Krishna. Some of them are very Johannine: "None is hateful to me, none dear: but they who worship me with devoted love dwell in me and I in them. Even if he is a man of very sinful life but worships me with single-hearted love he must be accounted good." "I am in them and they in me." In Gandhi's religious experience the love of God, at first under forms familiar in Indian temples, but later independent of such images, has played a central part, and this God, detached yet loving, is the source of his ethical ideal: "He who is

without hate, who is friendly and compassionate, not thinking of mine or me, balanced in pleasure and in pain, in honor and dishonor, in cold and heat, he who is patient and detached, self-restrained and resolute, with mind and heart dedicated to me—that man is dear to me."[7] How Johannine is the Mahatma's own definition of God as Truth, Light, Life and Love.

> From Untruth lead me to Truth
> From Darkness lead me to Light
> From Death to Life undying.

This is a very old Indian ideal, and to reach it a Hindu was trained in the four stages of life during which he became gradually detached from the things of sense and time, and more and more devoted to the unseen and eternal. This is the ideal of *Upekhā*—detachment of which the Buddha and "Gita" make so much, and with it they put *Ahimsā*—innocence or harmlessness.

We find in the "Upanishads"—India's earliest mystical books—the promise: "He who fixes his mind upon the unseen and hurts no living thing will find salvation." But an exception is made in the interests of religious ritual, and the significant clause is added "except for purposes of sacrifice." Against this exception Buddhism and Jainism set their face, and Gandhi grew up under

[7] *Gita, passim.*

the influence of the latter as well as of Hinduism. It is a religion which like the Quaker form of Christianity abjures violence, and forbids the taking of life, and which has in consequence enabled its devotees, avoiding war, to prosper in business: and the Gandhis are *Banias* or traders by caste.

Buddhism also makes much of the compassionate spirit; and the "Gita," though it teaches the soldier to fight, insists that he do so in a detached spirit, and puts harmlessness and non-injury side by side with energy, courage and self-control. From this well Gandhi has drunk deep, but as he has told us many times it is from the pacifism of Tolstoi and the Sermon on the Mount that he has learned his technique of non-violent passive resistance. And in this sense, however far he may have fallen short of the full Christian ideal, the Mahatma has more fully embodied it in political action than perhaps any Christian. Faced with the alternatives of violent revolution and non-violent repudiation of foreign rule he has chosen the higher and more difficult path of what he knows as *Satyagraha* or soul-force. A study of this ideal takes us to the very heart of his teachings, and to the secret of his amazing influence. The Mahatma's creed has, as an important clause, this affirmation: "I believe implicitly in the Hindu aphorism that no one truly knows the

Scriptures who had not attained perfection in Innocence, Truth and Self-control."

Such is the armory of this *Satyagrahi* or Saint of Truth, and "the pathway of the Lord can only be trodden by heroic feet." Satygraha is moral courage which, refusing violence, also refuses to submit to coercion or to exploitation: "Non-violence does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer but rather the putting of our whole soul against the will of the tyrant." It is in fact another name for love—opposing itself with courage to physical violence and opposing truth to untruth.

Jesus, Daniel and Socrates represent the purest form of Soul-force—"counting their bodies as nothing in comparison with their souls. Tolstoi was its best and brightest modern exponent."

To the two great principles of *Ahimsā* and *Satyagraha* Gandhi adds a third, *Brahmacharya.* This means continence or celibacy. As early as the eighth century B.C. we find the teaching that *Tapas* or self-imposed suffering brings miraculous powers, and in the first stage of Indian life the boy learns in the house of his *Guru* or teacher self-control and continence. In the classical case of the Buddha we see a young married man leaving his home after his first child was born, and living henceforth a homeless and celibate life. In the case of Gandhi we have the more aston-

ishing spectacle of one who at an early age practiced married celibacy, believing that without continence soul force is impossible. From the same root also springs his practice of fasting. This is a discipline of soul and body, and has very rarely been understood in the Western world. When he enters upon a long fast it is because he believes that his followers need to be lifted to new moral heights, and that in their failure he himself has failed. Hindus and Mohammedans, for example, have continued those disputes and riots which from time to time disturb the peace of India and make progress impossible, or the caste Hindus have continued to oppress the untouchables: such have been the occasions of Gandhi's classical fasts, and in each case he has won a temporary victory over his followers by winning a victory first in his own soul. He has not intended to stab their conscience by the sight of his own suffering, but rather to bring his whole group to a higher plane of spiritual insight.

On the other hand when he fasts as a prisoner of the British there can be no question but that he is using a form of violence. His captors have either to give way to him, or to take the immense risk of having him die on their hands. Such too is his campaign of Passive Resistance: it is intended to paralyze the government, and it inevitably leads to violence.

That he realizes this is clear, but his reply would be that such violence is more spiritual and far less harmful than that which lets loose the terrors of revolution; and it is clear that he has during long years prevented bloodshed, and taken upon himself sufferings which would otherwise have fallen upon multitudes.

Like the Buddha and like the "Gita," he knows that the great enemy of man is desire: "Three-fold is the gate of Hell that destroys the self: lust, anger and greed." Against these he makes incessant war with the weapons of the spirit, opposing chastity to lust, love to anger, and generosity to greed.

It is for such reasons that he is known as *Mahatma* or great soul. Never was a title more richly earned, and in acclaiming Gandhi as saint, India reveals that she has evolved a new ideal of sainthood, one no longer detached from the world and indifferent to its duties, but one which, meeting each problem as it arises, has worked out on the concrete stage of history its techniques of the victory of spirit over matter, of gentleness over force, and of truth over untruth.

If it is not a complete victory of Love over Hate it is Love's closest embodiment yet seen in the field of politics. But it is one thing to teach great principles, another to supply them fearlessly—in the field of politics—and in a country

in revolution. Gandhi has not only to teach, he has to lead a nation. And at this juncture he has found himself attacked by no less a nationalist than Dr. Tagore, and by no less a devotee than C. F. Andrews. For he himself has led the campaign to burn foreign goods, and believing that his people can live at the heights of detachment, has actually been instrumental in letting loose the passions of mobs of scores of thousands. What begins as a kind of religious service has degenerated into an orgy, and his more sensitive friends have drawn back in horror and dismay.

There is no more revealing passage in his meek yet stormy career than the protests of those friends, the Mahatma's rebuttal of them, and his ultimate withdrawal and confession that his followers were not yet ready for the full exercise of soul force. But all great teachers fail, and he has in fact worked miracles in the remaking of the soul of India. And the amazing success of his lessons in turning India from a slave mentality of acquiescence to a fearless expression of revolt, and in harnessing the fury of the mob is a great achievement. It is certain that if he kindled the flame he has also largely controlled the conflagration.

Never has any rebel been so patient and so forbearing: it is our shame that he has lost confidence in the British Empire. Can we yet win

him back? Into the slow stages of this disillusionment—through twenty years of struggle for elementary justice in South Africa and through the dreadful period of the Great War—we cannot enter. The story has been told once and for all by the Mahatma himself, and he has in fact won an immense victory in the concessions already made, and in the determination of Parliament to go forward to dominion status for India. Yet it has been a slow process.

"I find that I get the best bargains from behind prison bars," is one of Gandhi's characteristic sayings, and if Britain is driven to imprison him he accepts it as the natural result of his highly organized campaign of civil disobedience.

This is a technique which he learned from the West, and he has introduced it with telling effect, first in South Africa and then in India. By it he won a measure of justice for the indentured labor of the Union: by it no less he has speeded up the processes of India's entrance into the British Commonwealth, or perhaps of her independence.

(iv)

That Mahatma Gandhi has absorbed much from his contact with the West is clear. In spite of his emphatic repudiation of Western civilization he learned as a school-boy and again during

his student years in London the principles of Christianity and of free institutions. The sympathy which he so courageously displayed as a child, with the poor and the untouchables, was greatly deepened by these teachings; and in South Africa he definitely became a Tolstoian and founded two colonies to embody the economic ideals of his master, who wrote him a friendly letter rejoicing that he had found a convert. When the great man lay dying in Russia he said to an American economist, "I have no disciples in Europe, but I shall yet find them in Asia," and Gandhi is no less a Tolstoian than Kagawa.

Many other things which came to him in his Indian heritage were made articulate by this contact with the West. His innate pacifism was given a form and technique by his study of the Sermon on the Mount. "It was the New Testament which really awakened me to the rightness and value of Passive Resistance.

"When I read in the Sermon on the Mount such passages as 'Resist not him that is evil; but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also,' and 'Love your enemies; pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven,' I was simply overjoyed, and found my own opinion confirmed where I least expected it. The 'Bhagavad Gita' deepened the impression, and Tolstoi's

'The Kingdom of God Is Within You' gave it a permanent form."

This experience of his London days (1888-1891) was deepened during the long struggle in South Africa (1893-1913) during which he also perfected his technique. From this period I quote two characteristic experiences.

The first reveals the fact that his technique of fasting which has so puzzled the Western world was in large part suggested by the book of an American-German named Just. The following account is from the pen of his lifelong friend Henry Polak who has shared many of his early experiences with him:

"The technique of fasting was studied by Gandhiji in the days of my association with him in South Africa, now many years ago. How time flies! I can recall the very circumstances of our first acquaintance. At the time I was on the staff of an anti-Indian weekly paper in Johannesburg, whose policy was anathema to me. Gandhiji's name had first become known to me from the columns of the paper *Indian Opinion*. It was one of the exchanges that it was my duty to study, and I came to know his style—faulty, yet convincing. . . . He later invited me to edit the paper, which I did for over eight years.

"I next watched a verbal duel, in an evening paper, between him and the Medical Officer of

Health of Johannesburg, as to whose was the responsibility for the outbreak of plague in the Indian Location. I came to the conclusion that Gandhiji had the better of the argument, and a wish to meet him at close quarters grew in my mind. He was pointed out to me one day in a vegetarian restaurant, run by an Austrian whom he was helping to finance. I knew of this only later, when I had become articled to him as a solicitor. Some months afterwards, I presented a letter of introduction to the proprietress of another vegetarian restaurant, whom, too, he was aiding financially. She asked me if I would like to meet him. If so, she could arrange for this at one of her evening socials, at which he was a frequent and welcome guest, and I eagerly accepted the invitation. The evening came, and so I met this already distinguished Indian leader. He was quiet, courteous, and unassuming. We were introduced and immediately entered into intimate conversation.

"Gandhiji was one of those people with whom one naturally talked about things that matter. One of these things was vegetarianism and another was nature cure. It happened that I had just read, with immense zest and interest, a book, translated into English by a German-American, entitled 'Return to Nature,' by Adolf Just. It also happened that Gandhiji had recently read

the book, with which he had been greatly impressed, and that I was almost the only other person of his acquaintance that knew of it. We discussed it with great enthusiasm. It was, in a way, my card of introduction to him, and we 'fell' for each other immediately.

"One of the cardinal features of Just's system of treatment was fasting, and after we came to know each other better, we began to exchange experiences. He also watched carefully a small experiment of my own, partly conducted at the restaurant, and later repeated at Phoenix. I may note that, unless it has been mislaid, my copy of the book is still with Gandhiji, for, not having one of his own, he asked me to let him have mine in India, where he would make a better use of it than I could.

"He was a slow but hearty eater, and occasional short fasts were not at all unusual with him at this time. But these were undertaken for hygienic reasons and without ulterior motive. That he believed in fasting as a curative method in physical illness is clear from his treatment of Mrs. Gandhi, by means of fasting, tempered with doses of lemon-juice, over a prolonged period, when suffering from an illness that the doctors had pronounced incurable and when her death appeared to be a matter of days.

"It was in his later South Africa days that he

developed a taste for fasting as a personal discipline, a method of moral compulsion, and an act of sacrifice. He had come to believe that one ought to be prepared for all hazards, even including starvation, and he prepared himself for this possibility (as for every other that occurred to him) by the practical exercise of fasting at regular intervals. In this way he learned to curb appetite and control hunger. He also learned how the poor may suffer, and it inspired in him a community of sentiment with them.

"It was at this time, as my wife points out, in her book 'Gandhi; The Man,' that Gandhiji undertook his first great fast, for fourteen days, both as a protest against a shocking case of domestic betrayal and as a sacrifice on account of his own weakness. It was in the nature of an agonising punishment to be endured remorsefully by those who had been responsible for an act of treachery, and so far as he was concerned, as a corrective of the moral weakness inherent in himself, without which, he was convinced, the occasion for the fast would not have arisen.

"So he hoped both to cure the evil in others and to convert his own spiritual defect into spiritual strength. That the origin of this cult of fasting with prayer lay not so much in Just's book as in his study of Hindu asceticism and of Hindu practice in the home of his childhood, he

makes clear in his 'Autobiography.' But he learned the practice of it in South Africa."

Nor need we hesitate to say that his devotion to truth and his long search for a method of embodying it in social life has been influenced by the spirit of the West. Whatever is good in our civilization is the offspring of the Greeks' search for truth and the Hebrews' passion for social justice, and at these wells Gandhi has drunk. The writings of Ruskin and of Thoreau are familiar to him, and while he does not read widely he reads thoroughly and in a spirit of deep meditation upon a few great central truths. It is curious that, like Hu Shih, he has not recognized these religious roots of our Western civilization. Gandhi in fact is rejecting much that is deeply religious while Hu Shih who seeks to get rid of mystical religion is ardently championing that which is its by-product. And in a sense the *Mahatma* or Mystic is more realist and less idealist than the *Chun-tse* or Humanist. For the latter is definitely dealing with paper ideals and vague words such as democracy, while the former is always applying the pragmatic test, and pricking the bubbles of a vague idealism.

Judged by this test Gandhi's quest for transcendental truth is a much more practical thing than Hu Shih's quest of ideas. Certainly the latter cannot point to any miracle of social reforma-

tion such as the emancipation of women and the freeing of the untouchables from an age-old stigma. Nor has he molded men of integrity and unselfish service, the chief need of his nation, as has Gandhi, who has an army of such men, and women, with him.

When it is remembered that for many centuries women have had no real place in Indian life apart from domestic duties, their present freedom in India is nothing less than a miracle, and the Mahatma's latest fast has accomplished more in one week than all the writings of the social reformers. It has in fact worked the miracle of persuading the leaders of orthodox Hinduism to open the temples which have always been closed to these unfortunate millions, and even to seek opportunities of dining with outcastes. It is true that other forces have been at work such as the third-class railway carriage and the other class-ignoring distinctions of modern civilization. When I was in Calcutta my sweeper would never go past me except in a creeping attitude, and it was quite common for untouchables to cry aloud in fear lest their shadow touch or defile one of a higher caste. Yet my sweeper's son was a medical student in a college near by, and would in due course practice as a doctor in a distant province where his origin might be forgotten. Again certain enlightened rulers like the

Maharaja of Baroda have long insisted upon admitting untouchables to public office. Yet the process of enfranchisement has been enormously hastened by Gandhi's courageous championship during the past fifteen years; and Bishop Fisher reports a touching incident from South Africa which is worth repeating, and which reveals the influences of oppression in making him a liberator.[8]

"I felt a thrill when I heard his story of his African vision of India. It came to him one evening as he was sitting at the mouth of a great mine watching the Indian 'convict' laborers being herded to and from their work like so many cattle. Barbed wire and the bayonets of armed guards alike pricked the Indians if they strayed a step from the accustomed path. Yet these were not dangerous murderers or criminals; their chief fault was that they had not paid the head tax demanded by the government. Many of them could not pay; others had refused to work the mines until this tax, which they considered unjust and exorbitant, had been abolished. They were 'criminal labor' because they were so unfortunate as to possess a conscience.

"As Gandhi sat there, watching silently, an outcaste Indian boy came up out of the mine and

[8] Bishop Fisher, *That Strange Little Brown Man Gandhi.* Ray Long and Richard Smith. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

stood by the barbed wire, blinking in the light of the setting sun. Gandhi the Hindu, a member of the Bania class which is entitled to wear the sacred thread . . . to whom the very shadow of an outcaste was unclean, stood watching this air-starved boy breathing great gulps of the warm sweet breeze. Suddenly, quick as thought itself, the boy dodged between the legs of a big policeman, wormed his way under the barbed wire, and ran to snatch at a flower that, miraculously, had taken root in a pile of mine refuse. It was a great white fragrant flower, such as only the African sun can nurture, gorgeous, translucent, gathering up the lingering day in its clear petals.

"As he stood there, his face passionately buried in this creamy whiteness, the small boy's naked brown body was etched like a sorrowful statue against the rays of the setting sun. His silent eloquent body grew and grew till it seemed to Gandhi to fill the whole sky: it was burdened, beauty-loving India herself who stood there, snatching at life.

"Gandhi and the policeman reached the boy at the same instant. Even at such a moment the power of the Indian's personality, which was later to reconcile blood enemies and hold a nation in thrall, turned aside the white man's whip. Gandhi looked up into the policeman's face and

then gathered the small brown outcaste into his high-caste arms.

" 'Don't be afraid!' said Gandhi in Gujerati. And only those who know him can imagine the flowing richness of his voice. 'You are my brother. I will protect you. Out of the dark you came, yet loving beauty as I do. You are not an outcaste. I no longer belong to a higher caste. We are the same.' Then he looked up again at the dazed policeman and his rare smile filled his eyes, as he said in English, 'And you, too, are my brother . . . though I hate the cruel thing for which you stand.'

"From that moment Gandhi became inevitably the reformer . . . and political caste in India had heard its death knell."

(v)

So, Bishop Fisher tells us, the boy Gandhi who had played with untouchables became the mature leader of a vast movement: and Gandhi himself tells us how on his return to India the great Gokhale initiated him into political life, and how he went on to embody his principles in action.

In India, like Kagawa in Japan, he has evolved a five-fold program of reform, and it is as the rebuilder of India that we must next consider him. This program is, in effect, one of the spirit

of partnership—and it is so timely that in each of these fields nothing short of a miracle has been worked. The mediaeval dreamer is revealed as the very modern reformer.

When Gandhi returned to India in 1913, the old home industries which had made his people famous were dead. They had been killed by the competition of the industrial era. For at least twenty-five centuries the fine muslins and silks of Benares had been famous: now the young reformer found it hard to discover one spinning-wheel. But from one broken model, set in action by his indomitable spirit, has come a revived industry in which the peasants of 750,000 villages have the opportunity of using their leisure time to good effect, and of adding about one third to their meager incomes.

As in South Africa, the women were the first to champion his cause, and another miracle has been their emancipation under his leadership. In South Africa, delicate women, often with young children or just before the birth of a child, joined in long and arduous marches, and went to prison cheerfully. Woman's position in India was almost as pitiable as that of the spinning industry when he returned as their acknowledged leader. Indian women, once free and intellectually the match of the men, had been reduced to a position of servitude and ignorance. Many causes contributed to

this disaster such as the coming of Mohammedan hordes and the baleful influences of Hindu shastras. "Today," says an eminent Brahmin, Sir Tej Sapru, "we must make war upon the priests," and Gandhi has never hesitated or flinched in his task of reforming from within the Hindu way of life. When Miss Mayo's dreadful book called attention to the sorrows of Mother India and of her little daughters, he accepted the criticism, saying, "Yes, we have drains, and she is a drain inspector." Her indictment was, of course, true only of sections of Hindu society. In other classes and places women and children were less subject to outrage. But they were nowhere free, and nowhere took their place in social and political life. Now the miracle has been wrought and it is perhaps the most hopeful element in the modern situation that women are set free.

And as he preached partnership between men and women, so he taught it between Hindu and Mohammedan. Outnumbering the Mohammedans four to one, the Hindus have been dominated for centuries by the Muslim. Under great leaders like Akbar, it is true that their culture gradually conquered their conquerors, and that the two communities lived in harmony together. But under the zealot Aurung-zeb, the old fanaticism flamed out, and inter-necine strife opened

the doors to the West. Ever since there has been friction, economic and political, as well as cultural, between these two communities. Riots are frequent and forbearance rare. But Gandhi has been the staunch friend of both, and has taken enormous risks in espousing the Mohammedan cause. Often he alone has stood in the breach. And though this is still the main difficulty in the way of Indian nationalism, his spirit and the patience of the British Prime Minister may heal the breach. More probably India will go through a period of civil war such as most countries have had to endure in their march to freedom.

Of his championship of the untouchables and of the miracle of lifting them up into the caste system, perhaps enough has been said above. It has always been an important plank in Gandhi's program. His reason for opposing a separate electorate is that this would perpetuate the stigma of "untouchability."

His advocacy of prohibition is the fifth plank, and it is one of very far-reaching importance: for it covers the problem of opium and its derivatives as well as that of alcohol. In her fight for manhood India has often succeeded in local prohibition. Thus the Sikhs, who have so manfully supported Gandhi in passive resistance, are a martial group who abstain from both alcohol

and tobacco, and the Muslim is in theory an abstainer. Nevertheless the use of opium is widespread, and the government has derived much revenue from it, maintaining that it is needed for medical purposes, and that anyhow revenue is very hard to get from so poor a population. By the present agreement made between Gandhi and Lord Reading, this curse should be wiped out before long. But there remains alcohol, and it is not necessary in the United States to point out the difficulty of any drastic prohibition.

With regard to the bitter fight over the salt tax in which Gandhi has shown his sense of the dramatic and his power to break into the headlines, it is surely obvious that while the government must have money, they must not get it from the simple necessities of life; and there is no question that the rich in India, Maharajas with fabulous collections of jewellery no less than British jute merchants who made millions by exploiting the ignorance of the people, have been content to leave the burden upon the shoulders of the poor. Gandhi has never hesitated to attack them and to appeal to them, and the charge that he is an astute politician has, unfortunately, some color. For his own funds and those of the Congress are largely supported by unscrupulous Indian merchants who would like to see British investments ruined, and buy them up wholesale

when in that condition. But a statesman cannot concern himself with motives.

In leading the Congress, too, the Mahatma has had to resort to the compromise of politics. Without this, he could not have held his left wing which looks toward communism and which has prevented his acceptance of the offer of Dominion status. That he may come round at the eleventh hour is the hope of his more moderate supporters and of the British who respect his integrity but are suspicious of the saint in politics.

Meantime a wounded and weary world looks more and more wistfully to Gandhi as the incarnation of a moral and spiritual power and the mouthpiece of principles which offer him moral substitute for war and a challenge to luxury and selfishness more ringing than any since that of his master, Tolstoi.

If Gandhi and Kagawa are two hands of God in Asia, Tolstoi is a main artery through which the life-giving power of God has poured into them. And Tolstoi was a servant and disciple of Jesus, and dared to take literally the stark idealism of that master mind. In this sense, Asia owes much of her greatest leadership in these difficult times to the West. Tolstoi like the rest of us is the child of Israel and of Greece: Jesus himself while he owed everything to his own

nation, yet attracted the Greek-speaking world until his church became the vehicle for its truest life. What the choice spirits of the two most gifted races of antiquity accepted, the leaders of Asia are not wholly rejecting.

PART II

HU SHIH:

THE "CHUN-TSE" OR GENTLEMAN OF CHINA

The gentleman can find himself in no situation in which he is not himself.—*Analects.*

HU SHIH

(i)

China looks back to ideal types of practical men like Yu, the engineer, Shen-nung, the cultivator and others who may be legendary, but yet express an ideal rooted in the soil and in the community life. The Indian ideal is the Saint contemplating eternity, remote from the world in some forest of giant trees or in some mountain fastness: the ideal of China is the Sage whose wisdom enriches human life by patterns of behavior in this world rather than by visions of another. As the Chinese settled down and built up the life of the walled city, they developed a system of classical education which became the ladder by which the village boy might climb to the highest office. In India, on the other hand, settled life produced a rigid caste system in which intellectual and religious leadership was largely confined to men of the two upper castes, and of these the Brahmins were to claim more and more a monopoly in spiritual things, and were to organize a systematic division of life by which

man passed from his period of religious training to a life as householder and citizen, and from that to a more and more complete detachment from the world and its duties and cares.

China, while recognizing a division of function, kept the door to the highest rank, that of the scholar, open to all. Any boy who could master the classics could become a member of the ruling class. And the classics themselves were not books of mystic contemplation as in India, but rather books of history and of poetry, or moral maxims and political wisdom which set forth the ideals of the well-ordered society.

While, then, China did produce her mystics who scorned the life of ordered and formal well-being, and while her scholars often escaped from the duties of office to the freedom of letters, the ideal of the country as a whole was that of the *Chun-tse* or scholar.

The type is familiar to the West in the person of Kung-fu-tse or Confucius, who since the sixth century B.C. has been the classical norm of his people and the uncrowned ruler of China. For he systematized ancient wisdom, and embodied ancient ideals in his attractive and reasonable person. By precept and example he laid down the great patterns upon which Chinese life was to move for many centuries, and all subsequent Chinese thinkers were judged by reference to his

teachings. Believing that men are good by nature, he believed also that life is determined by the will of Heaven, and that man finds his true satisfaction in doing this will. "In man Heaven and earth come to fruition, and with Heaven and earth he forms a trinity." He tells us that at seventy he was able to follow his natural inclinations, and to do right; and he conceived of right as obedience to Heaven, loyalty to self, and duty to others.

"The superior man keeps in mind nine things: in seeing to see clearly, in hearing to hear clearly, in expression to be benign, in bearing to be decorous, in speaking to be sincere, in his office to be respectful, in doubt to inquire, in resentment to think circumspectly, in view of promotion to consider righteousness." Such is the Chinese gentleman.

A shorter summary is this: "The Chun-tse is grave in conduct, in serving his superior respectful, in cherishing the people kind, in employing them just."

Filial piety is the starting point of Chinese morality, and every boy learns as his first lesson the classical stories of those who have most nobly fulfilled the duties of sonship. He goes on to learn that our bodies are a sacred heritage from our parents and must be so cherished, and that duty to parents means that we are to give

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them no anxiety, to tend them in life, and to honor them in death and in the spirit world. Such is *Hsiao,* filial piety.

The next great quality which is inculcated is *Chung,* loyalty: for if the country is made up of a group of families, at the head of it is the ruler, a Son of Heaven about whom the families must group themselves in loyal coöperation—so long as he obeys the mandate of Heaven.

Next comes duty to others; and when Confucius was asked for a single principle which would meet all occasions, he replied, "in *Shu* is such a word; what you do not want done to you, do not do to others." In another place he instructed a disciple as to perfect virtue: "It is when you go abroad to behave to everyone as if you were receiving a great guest, to employ the people as if you were assisting at a great sacrifice, not to do to others as you do not wish done to yourself; to give no occasion for murmuring against you in the family or at large."

As to learning, the study of such books as the "Odes" is of great value in transmitting ancient wisdom, and in shaping conduct. "My children," said the Master to a disciple, "why do you not study the Books of Poetry? The Odes stimulate the mind, and help in self-contemplation, teach the art of sociability, regulate feelings of resentment. From them you may learn the more imme-

diate duty of serving your father, and the remoter one of serving your prince." On another occasion he said that it was by the Odes that the mind was aroused, and that the three hundred pieces, which he edited from older sources might be summed up in one sentence, "Have no depraved thought."

"It is not easy to find a man who has learned for three years without beginning to be good"; but "though a man may be able to recite the three hundred Odes, yet if when in a government position he knows not how to act, or if when sent anywhere on a mission he fails to give his answers unaided, of what practical use is his learning?" China has always been pragmatist.

Another great quality is *Li,* good form or propriety. If "the Odes kindle the mind, the rules of *Li* establish the character and music, that is ceremonial airs, polishes it."

Such are the qualities of the Chinese gentleman—a sublimation of those of the Chinese people. From the masses, Confucius tells us, he learned much. Reasonableness and a desire for an ordered and harmonious life have been their ruling ideals, and these have been pushed to the extremes of formality and rationalism. Dr. Hu Shih in fact maintains that the Chinese are essentially secular and rationalist: yet acknowledges that they have been much influenced by the mys-

tical and otherworldly. Confucius himself conformed to patterns of the old Sinism—the worship of heaven and of ancestors:

The superior man stands in awe of the ordinances of Heaven.
How profound they are and unceasing!

And the superior man is not very different from the Saint of Lao-tse. Like him he bases his conduct on the *Tao* or Way, which is Nature at work. It is a noble ideal:

> Production without possession,
> Activity without assertiveness,
> Development without domination.[1]

"When benevolence is the abode of the heart and righteousness the path of life, the business of the true man is done," [2] says Mencius. But in the life of courts a Confucius may become a Polonius and the Chun-tse was apt to become meticulous and fussy—standing in awe not only of Heaven but of the throne, till circumspection became servility, and the scholar forgot the great ideal "not to consider gold or jade but loyalty and good faith as the true jewels." [3]

Moral maxims and formal behavior began to replace sincerity and courtesy, and *Li* "good form," degenerated into "propriety."

[1] Taōte King. [2] Mencius 7.1.33. [3] Li-Ki 28.2.28.

It is little wonder that this formal type of goodness in which every act was regulated until man resembled "the most perfect crystal," showing on each side his true form, called forth the scorn of men like Lao-tse. While he too accepted the *Tao* or Way of Chinese tradition, he maintained that it must be expressed in a life of spontaneity, and not of formality. This he called *Wu-wei.* "When naturalness is obliterated, there is 'benevolence' and 'righteousness.' When 'wisdom' and 'knowledge' appear, there is great hypocrisy. When natural relations do not harmonize, there is 'filial piety' and 'parental devotion.' When a nation is in disorder and misrule, there is 'loyalty' and 'allegiance.'" Therefore, "Abandon wisdom, put away sagacity. . . . Abandon benevolence, put away justice. . . . Abandon smartness, give up greed. . . ."

But in spite of rebels of this school and of more secular type, the classical mold continued to shape the Chinese scholar, and after Buddhism had brought in other ideals, Confucianism triumphed in the Renaissance of the thirteenth century and, in the person of Chu Shi and others, dominated Chinese thinking, and especially Chinese morality, for another seven centuries. As in India, so in China Buddhism was absorbed by the older religion, but not without profoundly modifying and supplementing it. In India the re-

sult was crystallization of life under the *Dharma* or law of Hindu society by which every detail of daily conduct is regulated, and in China, by their reinterpretation of Confucius, Chu Shi and his fellow workers bound China to a bed of Procrustes almost as exacting. "How lifeless has Chinese society become since the twelfth and thirteenth centuries," says a modern critic. For the neo-Confucian was more formal than his master and much more secularist. There are few things more sterile than moral formulae divorced from the sanctions of faith, and when truth is canonized it is on the way to death. Let us glance at the story as Hu Shih summarizes it for us.

(ii)

In a recent essay he has shown very clearly that Chinese philosophers form an august procession comparable to the torch-bearers of Greece, and that they must be classified in their relation to the old classical religion which he calls Sinitism and describes as a fusion of the cultures of Shang (second millennium B.C.) and Chow (twelfth to sixth centuries B.C.). In this fusion the worship of a supreme god and of heaven was blent with divination and ancestor worship. The former was the cult of the Chow, the latter that of the Shang.

The great teachers from the sixth century B.C. on, took up various attitudes to this old religion: Lao-tse representing the sceptical left, Confucius the center "with strong leanings toward the left," Mo-ti the conservative right. "Lao-tse was a rebel in religion and a revolutionary in philosophy; Confucius was a humanist and an agnostic; and Mo-ti was a religious teacher and sought to save the old Sinitic religion by purifying it and giving it a new significance." [4]

The rationalist and humanist elements in the subsequent development of Chinese thought specially interest Dr. Hu Shih. Here he believes is the real mind and heart of China. Man is the microcosm of Nature, and Hsun-tse sings this "Baconian Song":

> You glorify Nature and meditate on her:
> Why not domesticate and regulate her?
> You follow Nature and sing her praise:
> Why not control her course and use it?

On the other hand those who practiced the Wu-wei of Lao-tse found it very practical politics, and the empire—decadent under the later Chou revived under the Han, and a great new era dawned, with Confucianism firmly enthroned. Then came Buddhism and challenged the old order: "China was dazzled, baffled and con-

[4] From *A Symposium on Chinese Culture,* edited by Sophie Chen. Shanghai: Commercial Press.

quered" by India: and her rationalism was submerged by the new mysticism. After the brilliant and sophisticated age of T'ang which was the fruit of this marriage of India and China, the old Chinese rationalism reasserted itself in the Sung awakening. "How did this happen?" asks Hu Shih. "What was to be done in order to free China from the yoke of Buddhist domination? There were three roads open: persecution and boycott; imitation and substitution; transformation and absorption. China tried all three, and at last won her War of Independence."

But it saddled her with a secular philosophy—which, while it talked much of investigation and clear thought—did little to establish a more humane civilization.

It is to the further development of the "humanistic and rationalistic" in China that Hu Shih is devoting his great abilities and his amazing energy. He has declared war alike on the old religions, on the mysticism of Laoism and Zen Buddhism [5] no less than on the superstition and magic of the popular Taoism and Amidism. And the masses as well as the intellectuals are listening to this radical and courageous voice speaking in the vernacular.

[5] This Intuitionist School he believes to be a Chinese development of the Meditation-Buddhism of India.

(iii)

Hu Shih was born in 1891, the son of an elderly scholar and a young country-woman, who was left a widow at twenty-three. "My mother's greatest gift," he writes, "was forbearance" [6] and to her, as well as to the memory of his father, he owes much. Herself illiterate, she set him at a very tender age to follow up the lessons which his father had given him. A weakly child, he showed amazing powers of memory and was called "the Master" when he was five years old. Fifteen years later he says of his sophomore days at Cornell, "I was nicknamed 'Doc' "; and he attributes these names not so much to his accomplishments as to the fact that he never played a game. Instead we see him as a child solemnly bowing before the stone rubbing of Confucius which is found in so many Chinese schoolrooms, and building a small model of a Confucian temple. This was his one attempt at play, and his mother encouraged his childish piety.

Though his father was a rationalist who disliked both Buddhist monks and Taoist priests, the women of the household, like all Chinese women, worshipped Kwanyin, goddess of Mercy. "Kwanyin in every household," says a Chinese proverb; and he has given us a touching picture

[6] See "The Forum," 1930.

of his mother hobbling on bound feet up the rocky trail to the shrine of the goddess. There is in him to-day a conflict between the admirer of Buddhist civilization and the rebel against Buddhist otherworldliness.

Remaining in the village school for nine years he read and memorized the books which have made the core of Chinese education for so many centuries. They are: the "Book of Filial Piety" which holds up for admiration the old man of seventy who played bear to amuse his parents of ninety; and the less pleasing person who did not change his clothes for three years after his mother's death: the "Lesser Learning" which consists of neo-Confucian maxims, the Four Books, which are the Analects of Confucius, the Book of Mencius, the Great Learning, and The Doctrine of the Mean. In these will be found the traditional picture of the Chinese scholar, and the moral code which has been binding upon China for twenty-five centuries. Even older and more august are the Five Classics, some of which date back to the tenth century B.C., but all of which have been edited and reëdited. Among these the Book of Odes was made central by Confucius, who edited some three hundred of the older classical odes, setting them to music. Of these Hu Shih has published some literal translations: he is a poet of repute as well as a philosopher.

The little boy was thoroughly taught these difficult books by a master to whom his mother paid an extra fee for expounding and translating into the vernacular lessons which others merely memorized. He has since written upon them with insight and critical acumen, and by the age of eight we find this precocious child studying also the "General Mirror," a vast history of China written in the eleventh century. A discovery of the vernacular novel at this time marked an epoch in his life. Of these novels he says "they were written in the *Pei-hua* or spoken language and were easily intelligible, and absorbingly entertaining. They taught me life, for good and evil, and gave me a literary medium which years later enabled me to start what has been called 'The Literary Renaissance' in China." Thus at a very tender age were sown the seeds of the many activities of Hu Shih. He has been a champion of the vernacular instead of the classical language, and the great circulation of his works is in large part due to his use of the vernacular, and to his critical attitude to classical tradition.

Now, too, began his revolt against popular superstitions. He tells us how in reading the Lesser Learning, which is attributed to the rationalist Chu Hsi, he was arrested by the teaching that there is no body after death upon which the tortures of hell can be inflicted, and that the

spirit itself fades away. This and similar teachings made him an atheist at eleven, and he soon became a champion of chance against fatalism. "There was no sophisticated reasoning on my part in those days of my boyhood. It was merely temperamental attraction and repulsion. I was my father's son." The influence of Chu Hsi, whom Father Wieger calls a tedious sermonizer, is still potent in China.

Early in his thirteenth year Hu Shih went to Shanghai for higher education, and after six years there, spent seven in America. During this long period of thirteen years he was studying Western science, history and literature, first in Chinese translations, and then in English. But he did not neglect his Chinese classics, and he tells us, "I delighted in the altruism of Mo-ti and the naturalistic philosophy of Lao-tse and Chuang-tse." It is characteristic that he says nothing of the mysticism of these two writers, whom at a later age he was to interpret rather as logical philosophers than as intuitive poets. It is this rationalist tendency in him which sent him eagerly to study Western naturalism, and later to become so devoted a pupil of Professor Dewey. But we also see the young patriot searching for those truths which should set China free. These writings "violently shut me out of the comfortable dream that our ancient civilization

was self-sufficient, and had nothing to learn from the militant and materialistic West except in the weapons of war and vehicles of commerce." Now in fact began that devoted admiration of the West which has blinded him in a large measure to its defects and blunders. He names especially John Stuart Mill's "Essay on Liberty" and Thomas Huxley's "Evolution and Ethics," which have opened up a new world of thought to China. As in modern Russia we find children named "Electricity," and a fantastic worship of the machine replacing the old mysticism of the Greek Church, so in China children at this time began to be called "Struggle for Existence"' or "Natural Selection"! He tells us that his brother suggested the pen-name of Shih, which he adopted in 1910 as his regular name: it means "fitness" and is part of the popular phrase the "Survival of the Fittest." So readily did he swallow the bait of Darwinian evolution.

We see him at this time grafting the new teachings onto the naturalism of ancient China, to which he has turned the attention of the West with peculiar brilliance, and he quotes a young observer of two thousand years ago as saying, "No species is purposely produced for the sake of another. Men, too, prey on those things which they are able to conquer. How can we say that Nature has produced them for our benefit?

Do not mosquitoes suck our blood, and tigers and wolves eat our flesh? Shall we say that Nature has produced men for the benefit of mosquitoes and tigers and wolves?" This skeptical note appears in his voluminous writings. One of the points of a catalogue of dogmas published in 1923 states that we cannot accept the hypothesis of a benevolent ruler of the world, and another that man is only one species of the animal kingdom. Here again we find him a logical thinker, but lacking in that sense of higher values which make such statements meaningless.

A precocious rationalist, he did not hesitate to make a gospel of his new dogmas—nor to assume the rôle of evangelist.

While only fifteen years old he became the editor of a magazine called *The Struggle* which was published in the vernacular, and which began to disseminate "scientific" and rationalistic teachings. These were dark and difficult years in China, when the old monarchy was breaking up, and when the new idea of democracy seemed powerless to change the old order. Very frankly he tells us of times of despondency and temptation, and of how he was becoming senile and pessimistic at the age of eighteen, when he obtained one of the Boxer Indemnity Scholarships and sailed for America. Its effects upon him were far-reaching.

(iv)

"The naïve optimism and cheerfulness of America impressed me most favorably. In this land there seemed nothing which could not be achieved by human intelligence and effort. I could not escape the contagion of this cheerful outlook on life, which, in the course of a few years, gradually cured my premature senility." The young "Doc" even found himself cheering at a football game. And in his studies he began to drink deep of Browning, winning a prize for an essay upon his optimism. After an undergraduate training at Cornell, studying agriculture as well as philosophy of the Idealist school, he went to Columbia in 1915 and came under the influence of John Dewey, whose pragmatism sent him back to the Chinese classics. "The Development of Logical Method in Ancient China" was written at this time, and is typical of his approach to Chinese thought, in which he sees a development of ideas akin to that of the ancient Greeks. It is possible that he overemphasizes the logical elements in these early Chinese thinkers, who were more concerned with the old battle about human nature—is it good, bad or indifferent?—than with the processes of thought.

Like Gandhi in England, Hu Shih almost became a Christian in America, and both found

themselves strongly attracted by the teachings of non-resistance; both found in the Sermon on the Mount an appealing and poetical statement of ideas long familiar to them in their own religious teachers. Hu Shih became in fact a zealous pacifist, actively opposing the Great War, while Gandhi, a much more mature pacifist, was busy recruiting soldiers and laborers to help the British Empire in its hour of need. For Gandhi is bound by the teachings of the caste system which emphasize the duty of the soldier to fight, while Hu Shih is free to follow the individualism and anarchy of such teachers as Lao-tse. Yet he was a constructive idealist. In 1916 he won a prize for an essay on "Is there a Substitute for Force in International Relations?" Here we see the Chinese belief in reason and in law asserting itself, and Hu Shih, like Confucius twenty-five centuries before him, proposes a League of Nations.

We may compare these activities with those of Kagawa as a student in Japan during the war with Russia: and it is interesting to find these two young idealists standing for friendship between China and Japan in spite of the terrible bitterness and conflict which came to a head in 1915, and has been growing steadily ever since. We find both counseling forbearance, calmness and friendship, and both bitterly denounced as traitors by their fellow students.

Of this period of his life, Hu Shih writes, "My reading of Ibsen, Morley and Huxley taught me the importance of honest thinking and honest speaking," and this portion of his essay is of great importance with its fine tribute to Professor Dewey, from whom he learned "that the most sacred responsibility of a man's life is to endeavor to *think well.*"

His study of logical method taught him to think genetically, and it is refreshing to turn from the many books about Chinese thought to Hu Shih's clear, if sometimes too schematic, statements. In defending his own public activities such as the advocacy of the vernacular and of rationalism, he has used historic arguments with great effect.

Moreover the Chinese, like the Americans, love slogans, and his training in America has helped him in putting ideas into pithy summaries; his teaching for example of "the Three W's" and their immortality makes a strong appeal to the Chinese mind. They are: Worth, Work and Words. These he characteristically draws from a sixth-century teacher who maintains that there is only one kind of immortality, that of virtue, of service, and of wise speech. Like Gandhi he has learned that the masses can be taught great ideas by such catchy phrases, and it is characteristic of our age that these three great men do not scorn the tricks of the journalist. Addressing a

group of us in London Gandhi said, "I must urge you not to believe all that you find in the papers. I have been a journalist all my life." Perhaps no writers command a wider popular appeal than these three constructive thinkers who all use the language of everyday life, and the columns of the press.

His mother's death in 1918 led Hu Shih to rethink his ideas upon this problem of immortality. And he came to the conclusion that his old idea of immortality is too exclusive: *Everything* is immortal because it has its effect somewhere in this world, and will go on in time and space. Here is an admirable passage upon the undying influence of the Buddha.[7]

"Twenty-five centuries ago there died a beggar in a valley of the Himalaya Mountains. His body was decomposing by the roadside. There came a young prince who saw the horrifying scene, and was set to thinking. He thought over the impermanence of life and of everything else, and decided to leave his family and go to the wilderness to think out a way for his own salvation and that of mankind. Years later he emerged from the wilderness as Buddha, the Enlightened One, and proclaimed to the world the way he had found for its salvation. Thus even the decompo-

[7] *Whither Mankind?*—Essays on Civilization Eastern and Western. Edited by Charles Beard. Longmans, Green & Co. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

sition of the dead body of a beggar has unwittingly contributed its part to the founding of one of the greatest religions of the world." The beggar has put on immortality!

Thus he comes to the religion of Social Immortality, the immortality of the Great Self: evil as well as good lives on because of its results on subsequent generations.

In 1907 Hu Shih returned to China full of enthusiasm, and threw himself once more into a campaign for the literary use of the vernacular and into advocacy of Western science and democracy. He was determined to build the new China upon such foundations as he could find in her ancient wisdom; and the thesis which he had written under John Dewey's direction at Columbia, he now elaborated as Part I of his "History of Chinese Philosophy," which has gone through at least seven editions.

The core of this he has since published in English, and in this he makes it quite clear that at this time and for the next ten years or more he believed that the new must be grafted upon the old. "The real problem," he says, "may be restated thus: 'How can we best assimilate modern civilization in such a manner as to make it congenial and congruous and continuous with the civilization of our own making?' This is very true to the spirit of China, which has for at least

two thousand years taken much from other nations, but has assimilated it and made it her own." And Hu Shih continues with the following striking statement:[8] "This larger problem presents itself in every phase of the great conflict between the old civilization and the new. In art, in literature, in politics, and in social life in general, the underlying problem is fundamentally the same. The solution of this great problem, as far as I can see, will depend solely on the foresight and the sense of historical continuity of the intellectual leaders of New China, and on the tact and skill with which they can successfully connect the best in modern civilization with the best in our own civilization.

"For our present purpose the more specific problem is: Where can we find a congenial stock with which we may organically link the thought-systems of modern Europe and America, so that we may further build up our own science and philosophy on the new foundation of an internal assimilation of the old and the new? It is, therefore, no mere task of introducing a few school textbooks on logic. My own surmise of the problem is somewhat like this. Confucianism has long outlived its vitality.

" . . . For my own part, I believe that the re-

[8] *The Development of Logical Thought in China.* Shanghai: Oriental Book Co.

vival of the non-Confucian schools is absolutely necessary, because it is in these schools that we may hope to find the congenial soil in which to transplant the best products of occidental philosophy and science. This is especially true with regard to the problem of methodology. The emphasis on experience as against dogmatism and rationalism, the highly developed scientific method in all its phases of operation, and the historical or evolutionary view of truth and morality—these which I consider as the most important contributions of modern philosophy in the Western world, can all find their remote but highly developed precursors in those great non-Confucian schools of the fifth, fourth, and third centuries B.C. It would therefore seem to be the duty of New China to study these long-neglected native systems in the light and with the aid of modern Western philosophy. When the philosophies of Ancient China are reinterpreted in terms of modern philosophy, and when modern philosophy is interpreted in terms of the native systems of China, then, and not until then, can Chinese philosophers and students of philosophy truly feel at ease with the new methods and instrumentalities of speculation and research.

" . . . My interest in the re-discovery of the logical theories and methods of Ancient China, as I have repeatedly said above, is primarily a

pedagogical one. I have the strongest desire to make my own people see that these methods of the West are not totally alien to the Chinese mind, and that on the contrary, they are the instruments by means of which and in the light of which much of the lost treasures of Chinese philosophy can be recovered. More important, still, I hope that by this comparative study the Chinese student of philosophy may be enabled to criticize these precursory theories and methods in the light of the more modern and more complete developments, and to understand wherefore the ancient Chinese antecedents have failed to achieve the great results which their modern counterparts have achieved; to see, for instance, wherefore the theories of natural and social evolution in Ancient China have failed to accomplish the revolutionary effect which the Darwinian theory has produced on modern thought. Furthermore I hope that such a comparative study may save China from many of the blunders attendant upon an uncritical importation of European philosophy—blunders such as wastefulness in teaching the old-fashioned textbooks of formal logic in Chinese schools, or the acceptance of Herbert Spencer's political philosophy together with the Darwinian theory of evolution."

Opposition on the part of the old scholars and apparently a growing enthusiasm for Western

civilization has led him away from this position, until he has lately come to believe that Chinese and Western thought have been so different in the direction of their development that to attempt to graft the new upon the old is to sterilize it. Rather naïvely he throws overboard his old positions and says: "After all, culture is usually one, is a whole; and if you take this attitude—as had been proposed by some Chinese statesmen—namely that Chinese learning must be the basis on which the useful learning of the West may be made to function, on the theory that Western civilization is naturalistic and Chinese culture is spiritualistic, you may be compelled to drop all steps of modernization. . . . We must unreservedly accept this modern civilization of the West because we need it to solve our most pressing problem of poverty, ignorance, disease and corruption. These are the real enemies we are facing, and none of these can be subjugated by the old civilization." [9]

He turns the tables in fact upon Chinese scholars and Western devotees of the Orient by a vigorous statement of the superior qualities of the West. His most familiar writing in the English-speaking world is his essay on this subject in the collection, "Whither Mankind?" It is a tell-

[9] Address as Chairman of the Institute of Pacific Relations held in China, 1931.

ing apologia for the West, which has gobbled it up uncritically, and shows an astonishing belief in "the religion of democracy" which is "the real religion of the Western world." With much of the essay we can, of course, heartily agree. With all its faults our civilization is probably the best for the masses of any that the world has seen, and Hu Shih states this[10] with characteristic vigor: "That civilization which makes the fullest use of human ingenuity and intelligence in search of truth in order to control nature and transform matter for the service of mankind, to liberate the human spirit from ignorance, superstition and slavery to the forces of nature, and to reform social and political institutions for the benefit of the greatest number—such a civilization is highly idealistic and spiritual. This civilization will continue to grow and improve itself. But the growth and improvement will not be brought about by returning to the spiritualistic ideal of the East but only by conscious and deliberate endeavors in the direction of fully realizing those truly spiritual potentialities for the progress of this civilization."

This contrast between the "spiritual West" and the "spiritualistic East" is not fully justified by the facts; in many things his own people have

[10] *Whither Mankind?* edited by Charles Beard. Longmans, Green & Co. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

made more of the human values than we have; and if they have made less of the means, they have made more of the ends of life. With all its humanism, Western civilization, especially during the modern or industrial era, has continued to sacrifice the man to the machine and beauty to greed.

Hu Shih's contrast between the "ricksha" civilization of the Orient and the motor-car civilization of the West is in fact misleading. In the first place the jinricksha was invented by an American marine, and while, as Hu Shih says, it *is* a cruel form of transportation, yet it was intended to replace the more cruel form of the palanquin, and in crowded Chinese alleys it is less cruel to the greatest number than the Ford car, which frightens multitudes and covers them with greasy squirts of mud or with clouds of germ-laden dust.

Like Gandhi's spinning-wheel the ricksha is a very good interim mechanism in a period of transition and is far less extravagant than the automobile which uses the power of at least twenty horses to transport one or two men. It is these tendencious notes in this essay that make it a much less sound achievement than has been commonly recognized in the United States. And it is full of rather journalistic phrases like the following: "A clay pot is no more material than a love

lyric; nor is St. Paul's Cathedral any less material than the Woolworth Building." The uses to which matter is put determine its quality; are sacraments and the sermons of Deans like Colet and Inge no more spiritual than cheap goods? Nor can I as a student of Buddhism, who have read with great appreciation Hu Shih's tributes to this great religion believe that he is wholly sincere in this essay in classing it among the "hypnotic" religions which belong to an age when men had reached senility. For he has said elsewhere that it came with overwhelming force, and dazzled her people, giving them hope and a new concept of personality, human and divine, overcoming the old fatalism, and filling the ideas of the soul and of God with new meaning and fullness. This is a much better reading of history; for Buddhism came to the world-weary empire of Han, as Christianity to the world-weary empire of Rome. When Hu Shih asks: "What spirituality is there in the old beggar woman who dies in the direst destitution, but who dies . . . in the clear conviction that she will surely enter that blissful paradise presided over by the Amita Buddha?", we can only reply that this *is* a victory of the spirit over matter, and that imagination is the eye of the soul. Nor is it unreasonable to believe that in a world of law there is compensation for the sorrows of this life, and that such values as an old woman's faith are not snuffed

out. Even on his own rationalistic grounds here is a value which survives. Can our age accept a purely naturalistic conception of life and the universe?

It is not primarily his consistency as a philosopher which has won for Hu Shih his unique place among his own people and in the Western world. It is his eminent services as a middle-man, interpreting each to the other, his devotion to the cause of the vernacular, and his charming personality. As chairman of the Institute of Pacific Relations and as a director of the China Institute he has made an immense impression, and if we cannot accept his high estimate of our own civilization it is at any rate far more pleasing than the chauvinism of much oriental apology, and the defeatism of some Western writers. Perhaps we may see in his statement that "the new religion is socialism" a prophecy, even if it seems to annul his belief in the spirituality of America. For America does not believe in socialism, and where it has applied it unlabelled, as in free education for all, it cannot be said to have scored a great success.

But this heady beverage is being drunk in large draughts in China in what we may call its Vodka form, and it is probable that before very long the Bolshevist experiment will sweep through China, and make all our discussions academic.

The democracy which Hu Shih idealizes is the ideal democracy of his teacher Dr. Dewey—who has so far made small headway in giving it organic realization in the United States. Can it be called the real religion of the West? And as for socialism it is evident that the people of the United States are still much afraid of the very name. A handful of the intelligentsia may vote for the socialist candidate—an admirable personality with a moderate program: the workers are not ready to support him. Judged then by the pragmatic test—which is the test of his school—Hu Shih's panacea is still very much in the discard in the West: it seems visionary to expect it to work in China, with its immense illiterate proletariat, its vast territory, its lack of communications, and above all its dearth of public men of integrity. China seems to be falling in love—so far as its students go—with all the elements in our civilization which we have started to question—not least "the false Messiah of Science," and materialism posing as spirituality. The hope of the world is rather in a religious use of science for moral ends, and a scientific reëmbodiment of the real fundamentals of religion.

The divorce of religion and science will lead us into new quagmires, and their antagonism into those battles of the half-baked which still rage in Tennessee and Los Angeles—but nowhere else. Are these plagues of Cimmerian darkness to be

allowed to invade the older civilizations? To attack Buddhism and Christianity as mediaeval superstitions is to darken counsel. They have long proved their amazing powers of recuperation, and await not the lethal chamber, but intelligent restatement. For in Jesus and Sakyamuni the human race has produced its greatest figures; and they are creative and potent personalities—sons of fact and also men of vision in whom the eternal speaks. Our age is, in fact, one of the twilight of religion—but it is the twilight of dawn, when human brotherhood is being offered to us as the natural expression of the Divine Fatherhood, and peace among men as the fine flower of an inner harmony. Christianity and Buddhism are both based upon compassion—human and divine—expressing itself in sacrificial love. The Christian saint and the Bodhisattva meet in the loving service of men and in their loyalty to the whole family of mankind.

That Buddhists and Christians can coöperate in great causes is manifest in Kagawa; and in Gandhi too men of various faiths are challenged to forget those things which separate and alienate, and to cling to those things which unite and harmonize.

If the rationalist will throw his weight into their common struggle against the common foe—human selfishness—he is sure of a welcome: and he will find that the mystic always has a deeper

insight into the ultimate problems and often a more practical solution than the rationalist.

China is watching the Russian experiment with great interest. Of this Marxian socialism Hu Shih is no advocate. Like Gandhi and Kagawa he would deprecate its ruthlessness and its economic interpretation of history, even though he comes rather near to its fantastic worship of the machine. He is too strong in his emphasis on the importance of tool-making which represents "what is most divine in man, namely that creative intelligence which provides implements and makes civilization possible." If Gandhi needs to be reminded that his beloved spinning-wheel is a machine, Hu Shih needs to be reminded that a machine is spiritual only in so far as it is used for moral ends, and that our overemphasis upon it has not only landed us in the difficulties of overproduction, but our naïve faith in it is responsible also for gross unfairness in the distribution of goods, and for the exploitation of the masses.

Having emerged from the most disastrous war in history which we waged "to make the world safe for democracy," we have entered upon a very undemocratic phase; but we are at any rate world-weary and predisposed to the pacifism of these oriental leaders. That is the one gain of this greatest tragedy of history.

The real question that emerges with regard to Hu Shih's leadership of China is "Whither will

it lead her?" Are her enemies, "poverty, disease, ignorance, corruption and disorder," to be conquered by reason, or by any less drastic cure than sacrificial love and service, such as Gandhi is giving to India and Kagawa to Japan? In other words, will anything short of the Kingdom of God, in which men are unselfish and honorable and ready to share the best that they have with their poorer neighbors, save China from herself?

Alike in Japan, which has gone far on the way of modernization and which Hu Shih holds up for Chinese admiration and emulation and in India to which he points with scorn, it has become clear that the way out is a way of heroic self-sacrifice and service. May we not be satisfied to call it with Gandhi and Kagawa "the Way of the Cross?" And if this is too mystical for the rationalist he will find it implicit in much of the reasonable teaching of Chinese sages, who have insisted with Mo-ti that nothing short of universal love will work, or who have held up with Lao-tse the admirable ideal of the gentle saint.

What in fact is the power which will socialize an acquisitive society? What will cast out the possessiveness and the spirit of domination from man? The religions which Hu Shih dismisses as mediaeval are attempts to crucify man's baser self, and to sublimate these lower motives into useful and social forms of activity.

In a word if China is to look to the example

of Japan she will find that that country was saved once by the coming of Buddhism—saved from barbarism and internal conflict: and that now when "modernization" has brought her to the verge of bankruptcy and revolution she is being once more saved by a religious movement whose essence is the very theocratic concept of God which Hu Shih and his "modern" confrères and teachers reject. Let us return to this in a concluding chapter, when we have seen the prophet of Japan at work in her teeming slums and her terraced fields, and in the high places of her national life.

Meantime China is fortunate in this able and many-sided leader of the renaissance. A stern critic of her government, he dares fearlessly to approve the teachings of Sun-yat-sen himself, and true to type, renews ancient logomachies. Of his poems the following are typical, and suggestive of the range of his enthusiasms.[11]

Two Poems by Hu Shih

(*After translations by Y. Y. Tsu*)

(1)

The Autocrat

High on his hill-top sat the autocrat
Sending his slaves in irons to the mines:
"Which of you serfs dare disobey my word?
I wish you to be serfs and serfs you are."

[11] Translated by Dr. Y. Y. Tsu and versified by the present writer.

Ten thousand years the slave-gangs toiled
Till bit by bit their irons wore away:
"When these our shackles snap, revolt!"
They comforted each other day by day.

Hard was their daily toil beneath the hill
Spadeful by spadeful digging, digging, till
The hill itself was hollowed out and fell,
And with it crashed the autocrat and died.

(2)

A Smile

Ten years ago a stranger, still unknown
Smiled at me—all I knew or know was this
That in his smile was something strangely sweet.

What has become of the unknown who knows?
His smile lives on with treasured memories
And as the years go by it sweeter grows.

I've written many verses, woven fantasies
About it and about—and some feel pain
Who read, some joy: and, reader, so may you—

A single smile begetting many moods!
And though I never see the man again
His splendid smile makes me his debtor too.

PART III

KAGAWA, SAMURAI AND REBEL

Love is my philosophy, my science, my religion.—*Kagawa.*

KAGAWA

(i)

THE word *Samurai* is derived from *Samurau* "to wait upon or serve." It began about the eleventh century to be applied to bands of loyal servants who in an effeminate age stood ready to protect the Emperor, and to do him service. This was a classic period in literature and art, but the times called for a moral reformation at a court which was degenerate and in a society which cared little for law and order. Crimes of robbery and murder were frequent, and a powerless government did nothing even in the cities to keep order. So bands of young retainers began to train themselves to a disciplined and simple way of life which was later to be known as *Bushido* or the way of the knight. Gradually an unwritten code of ethics was built up from various sources. From the native *Shintō* or "way of gods" they learned cleanliness and simplicity, and devotion to god and to overlord. From Buddhism they learned contemplation and power of concentration, which made them calm in the midst of difficulties and

dangers. This serenity was of great value; and self-discipline went with it. Like the Stoics these men retired to an inner kingdom of the spirit, and were trained to control their feelings, and to show neither joy nor sorrow, pity nor anger in their outward demeanor.

Duty and self-sacrifice are the keynotes of this earlier code; and as Confucianism became a potent influence in Japan, the worship of ancestors and filial piety began to be much emphasized, together with urbanity and propriety. After the Chinese Renaissance other Chinese influences began to be felt in Japan, such as the teachings of the pragmatist Wang-yang Ming who taught that to know and to act are one and the same, and whose emphasis upon intuition springing from right action reinforced the teachings of Buddhism. Thus the Samurai were trained in quick and instinctive judgment.

For the rest Bushido is a warrior's code, emphasizing endurance, courage and loyalty; and in this code is embodied the spirit of the Japanese so that at the time of the restoration of the Empire we find the Emperor Meiji commending to his army five principles—loyalty, courtesy, courage, faithfulness, and simplicity. They, like their forefathers, were taught to endure hardness, to despise wealth, and to be ready at any moment to give their lives for the Emperor.

But there is another aspect of Bushido which

owes much to China and which is less usually associated with the life of the soldier. This is the emphasis upon reason and benevolence as guiding principles of conduct. If Japan has sought for the way of chivalry and patriotism, China has pursued the way of reason and benevolence, and this Japan now added to her own heritage: adopting but also adapting the Chinese ethic to suit her code of chivalry. Putting the warrior instead of the scholar at the head of her social order, she yet sought to refine and to ennoble him by blending these Chinese ideals of scholarship and enlightenment with those native to her soil.

How great a part the men so trained have played in Japanese history is clear: with a somewhat narrow concept of loyalty they yet fitted the feudal society of Japan, and were ready when need arose for the sacrifice of their own privileges in the interests of the common good. In Japan, alone among nations, Christianity began with the ruling class, and Kagawa is in the line of succession of the Arimas and Bunjos of the early Catholic missions, and of the Niisimas and Wakatas of the first Protestant groups. These men have been characterized by independence of judgment, by unflinching courage, by a high sense of duty, and by an interesting blend of the contemplative and the practical.

The history of religion as a whole may be said

to have consisted in the rebellion of the individual against the folk-ways of the group, and the gradual conversion of the group by the individual to a new way of life and thought. In Japan rugged and strong individuals like Nichiren have been at first treated as rebels, but have often succeeded in their appeal to the patriotic spirit of their countrymen in finding national salvation in the new way of life. They have been hailed as saviors and builders of the nation. So these Christian Samurai, who at first went in fear of their lives came gradually to be accepted as leaders of the new social order.

In the case of Kagawa we see how he was for long condemned by the government as a dangerous radical, and is now accepted as the exponent of a middle way, and attacked and condemned by extremists as too conservative and Christian. It is interesting to trace the influence of the code of the Samurai upon his early years. He has told us how in the Buddhist temple he learned something of the contemplative life, and also of the teachings of Confucius, and the following is a typical passage from one of his recent addresses in China:[1]

"As a boy, I was utterly alone and an orphan, for my father and mother died when I was only

[1] Mr. Kagawa has kindly granted permission for use of his addresses, statements and poems.

four. At eleven I was sent to one of the Buddhist temples, to study some of the teachings of Confucius, and of his pupil Mencius. It was very difficult, however, to see how I could ever practise these excellent teachings, because my surroundings were so bad I thought it impossible for me to follow Confucius' advice to become a saint, a moral man; for my elder brother, since my father's death the authority in the family, was thoroughly dissolute. Moreover, all our neighbors were bad, too. Yet our ancestors had been rulers over nineteen villages, and my father had been one of the secretaries to the Privy Council of the Emperor."

Thus early began a conflict and a growing inner tension which ended in his conversion to Christianity. Finding in it the solace of his own sorrows, he went on to find in it the way of regeneration for his people, the foundation for the new society and the new age.

In his passionate devotion to Christ we see the fine flower of that romantic attachment to the lord, which was at the heart of Bushido. In his complete self-sacrifice and his devotion to his cause, in his self-imposed poverty and simplicity, in his serenity in the midst of unceasing labors and continuous illness he is indeed the Christian Samurai of Japan. The old qualities of the Samurai are in him, deepened and ennobled by devo-

tion to a worthier cause, and by the influence of many other teachers—from Francis of Assisi and Francis Xavier to Tolstoi and Gandhi.

Thus we have the surprising development from samurai to pacifist, and from loyalist to rebel. As pacifist he sees that the whole future of Japan is bound up with that of her neighbors,[2] and that her economic life needs above all else a long period of peaceful development. Unlike many pacifists he sees clearly too that the roots of war must be destroyed, and in his systematic social reforms and his clear economic teachings he offers a way out of her present distresses.

But none of these influences nor all of them together can account for the joy and the courageous optimism of this suffering servant of his people. Called upon to suffer far more than his Master, he is buoyed up like him by the vision of the unseen, and by mystical experience which makes it more real than the visible. Here are calmness and serenity transmuted into radiant joy, and here are courage and devotion to duty of a quality unknown in the long and splendid history of the Samurai. If Gandhi is the Mahatma transmuted by a love of the poor and the passion for social righteousness, Kagawa is the Samurai in whom the love of Christ has deepened and enriched the

[2] Sixty per cent of Japan's trade is with the United States and China.

old loyalties until nationalism is subordinated to the interests of humanity, and the kingdom of God becomes the central objective of his life.

(ii)

Japan is blest in having so loving a spirit to guide her out of the quagmires into which imperialism, industrialism and capitalism have led her —one who offers her a positive and constructive application of the principles of Jesus to her complex life. She recognizes in him one who has an alternative to the Bolshevism which she dreads so much, to the militarism which is impoverishing her and ruining her trade with China and her prestige among the nations. Kagawa, Christian socialist and internationalist, fighting pacifist, champion of the poor is the soul of the new Japan, Yamato Damashii. Here is his own statement of his methods of reconstruction:

"Though I am one of the leaders of the Social Movement in Japan, I am convinced that Marx will not win in Japan nor in China. Though Marxism in some sense wants to reconstruct society, it is based on economic profit, and in order to divide profit in equal shares Marx suggests the use of violence. There is no fundamental solidarity there. Whether I receive equal wages or not is not a question of eternity. I, for instance, am

willing to serve my fellowmen in this country without any pay at all. Christ said, 'Why do you make me a judge?' I am not concerned about the distribution of wealth. When we have life, labor, and personality, *things* are secondary.

"Love is the basis of society. If we want to have a real society we need love. And when we want to put love in practice, then we come to the crucifixion of Christ. Therefore I have a firm conviction. I do not know whether the doctrines of Christianity will win or not, but I am sure the love of Christ will win in Japan and in the Orient. That is the reason I preach day and night, and give testimony to this love of Christ. If our friends preach the doctrines of Karl Marx, I'll preach the crucifixion of Christ. It may be very slow but surely it will conquer. You know how Christianity got the victory over the Roman Empire and the Roman Empire disappeared; but the truth of the crucifixion remains. The authority of kings and the authority of priests may die or disappear, but the truth of love stands for ever and ever.

"When I served in the slums of Kobe, and in the great relief work after the Tokyo earthquake, I found that nobody was against love. Sometimes when we practice love, selfish people oppose us, but they will gradually find the truth of love. I have a firm conviction that in Japan,

in China, in India, and even in Russia, this truth of the crucifixion will win.

"I tell you that even in Russia it is a question how long that kind of Marxism can be maintained. If Russia will come to a real democracy basis, it will find the crucifixion of Christ. If a free state appears, it will find the Cross as the only possible basis of social solidarity.

"In the crucifixion there are two kinds of love, the fatherly kindness of God, and the brotherly kindness of men. In the crucifixion we have no mere 'social gospel;' in it we have the Gospel of God, and the Gospel of humanity. In the crucifixion we find the truth of religion. We find there the Truth, the Life and the Way. But I tell you the crucifixion is not a doctrine. It's a truth of *life*. It's not enough to merely honor and respect the Cross! Unless we bear the Cross of Jesus today, in China, in Japan, in the Orient, religion is meaningless. We must go forth in the spirit of Christ to bear the Cross, and then we find the love of Christ in life."

But the Cross is still an offence to some—and folly to many—and this gentle leader is bitterly opposed. A man is often most accurately judged by looking at his enemies. Who is it who call Kagawa "Traitor"? It is the imperialists, the owners of brothels, the exploiters of the poor. For he has not spared them in his stormy career,

and his program of social reform is recognized as fatal to them all.

This is best realized by reading his own story of his life in the slums, "Beyond the Death Line," [2a] which has had an amazing circulation. Here we see this servant of God as the fearless champion and friend of the needy, the drunkard and his prostitute: there as the constructive thinker and organizer of the coöperative system. He must be seen also in the setting of the Christian movement in Japan. And this is no new thing. It began before the penetration of Asia by Western trade, and in the person of one whom Kagawa delights to honor and to imitate.

(iii)

Twice before this, in fact, Japan has been deeply moved by the religion of Jesus, and has only turned away because it came in foreign guise, and because the Japanese, even so attracted to it, began to discover that the Christian nations were very unchristian in their imperialism, and very timid in applying its principles to their social problems. This long history must be studied in order to understand the full significance of this modern prophet. Here is a Japanese speaking to his own people with frankness and sincerity as well as great tenderness, and he is not content

[2a] American edition, *Before the Dawn.* Harper & Brothers.

with telling them how to make bread, but rather breaks the bread of life to them. Here is a voice of the common people speaking in homely language out of deep experience. Yet it is a young Samurai who speaks, and in him the old order takes on new and startling significance.

Christianity first came to Japan in 1549 in the person of Francis Xavier, that devoted member of the Society of Jesus, who had toiled in India amongst the poorest, and now began his short but fruitful mission to the rulers of Japan. From the very first he found himself naturally at home with them, and we get many a beautiful picture of the courteous Spanish gentleman in the homes of the Daimyos of feudal Japan. After the dissolute and degenerate Portuguese of Goa and the poor degraded Christians of Malacca, he found the Japanese "filled with natural goodness above any of the newly-discovered nations;" "they are, indeed, more delicately-minded than we." It was a young Samurai, named Anjiro, whom he met at Malacca and who had become a Christian, taking the name of Paul of the Holy Faith, who had urged him to visit Japan. In 1549 the two friends, with Father Torres and a lay brother, Juan Fernandez, arrived at Anjiro's home in Kagoshima. Spending the first few weeks in prayer and language-study, Brother Juan, with amazing rapidity and eloquence, began to preach

to the noble families of Satsuma, and Paul had the joy of seeing his own family become the first converts. The authorities, however, were non-committal: and soon the missionaries set out with gifts from the King of Portugal to the Shogun of Japan, who now placed at their service an empty Buddhist monastery at the capital, Kyoto. Here they continued to preach with surprising fluency and success; though Francis himself used an interpreter. These were days of great encouragement and devout joy; as we may read in the famous hymn which Francis composed, probably at Kyoto, in the year 1550.[3] The authorities still remained cautious till, by a lucky accident, a Portuguese ship arrived, and the Japanese were startled to see her captain fall at the feet of Francis, and offer to him the tribute which he had brought for the Prince of Bungo. Here clearly was some great one; and official Japan began to realize that this simple priest was a power in his own land. He was granted permission to preach; and a document has recently been discovered which contains the following clauses: "The Bonzes (monks) from the West are authorized to rebuild the Dai-Do-Ji Temple (that is, Great Way Temple) in order to preach the

[3] My God, I love Thee, not because
I hope for heaven thereby.
Does this suggest that Xavier had seen the easy-going "Paradise Buddhism" at work?

Law of Buddha." Sealed and dated at Yamaguchi 28th day of the Eighth month. Tembun, Twenty-first year (*i.e.*, 1551).

Was the saint aware of how the authorization was worded? Or, again, was the prince aware that it did not exactly cover the case? We do not know; but it may be that, being men of the world and both trained in the view that "the end justifies the means," they winked at this device for allowing Christianity to come into a land in which Buddhism was losing favor and savor! Be that as it may, the Gospel spread rapidly, and it almost seemed as if Japan would become Christian without hitch or opposition. Three reigning princes, Omura, Bungo, and Arima, were converted with almost all their people: men and women of all classes joined the Church. The great Nobunaga himself, soldier and Prime Minister, was favorable to the new religion, partly because of its virility, and partly because he had a feud of long standing with the Buddhists. It is certain that, compared with the degenerate and sensuous Buddhism of the sixteenth century, the religion of these Soldiers of the Cross appealed to the nobles and fighting men of Japan as real and vigorous, and Xavier's own dignified bearing and charming courtesy revealed him as one of their own order. Francis himself had died in 1552 off the coast of China; but he was happy in his

successors, Cosmo de Torres and his Japanese associates, and particularly in Brother Juan Fernandez. "No one," says Dr. Otis Carey, "deserves so much as he to be called the founder of the early Japanese Church." In 1579 Father Valignani was appointed Visitor General of the eastern missions of the Society of Jesus, a learned and far-sighted missionary who did much to coordinate the work. Under his leadership four boys of sixteen, two of them princes, and two noblemen, made the long voyage to India and Southern Europe. It was a great education; they were received as ambassadors by Pope Gregory the XIII; they visited the mighty cities and famous churches of Rome, Lisbon, Madrid, Venice, Florence and Pisa; and their tour was a triumphal progress. They returned full of enthusiasm for Christianity as the religion of great and mighty peoples, and as the civilizer of Europe: and all of them were candidates for the priesthood, which for many years they graced. But in the eight years of their absence, things had changed in Japan. Nobunaga's favor was veering away from the Christian "Bateren," and edicts had gone out to dismantle churches and schools. Some of the nobles had turned apostate; and the Prince of Bungo threatened to banish all missionaries. The return of the young ambassadors did something to delay persecution, but in 1597 it

broke out in unbridled fury. There are several records in Japan of these persecutions, and many pathetic relics. The Daimyos, Yukinaga and Takayama, and some retainers, with three Jesuits and six Franciscan missionaries, were crucified on a hill above Nagasaki, in 1597, and were canonized in 1862 by the Church of Rome. Though disagreeing sadly during their lifetime, these Christians were united in death. "All had travelled by long journeys, from places distant from each other. As the little processions converged towards the hill of martyrdom, touching scenes took place. Father Peter Baptist, a Franciscan, on meeting Father Rodriguez, asked pardon for a method of work which he now acknowledged to have been mistaken. The Jesuit, for his part, begged that any word or act of his which had been a breach of the law of Christian love might be forgiven. They tenderly embraced, comforted each other, and died in triumph." Once again the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church, which grew in Japan in spite of all opposition and beyond all belief. By 1604, little over half a century after the landing of Xavier and his companions, it numbered perhaps half a million. But statistics are often puzzling, and a letter written in 1603 by Bishop Cerqueira mentions between 200,000 and 300,000 as the number of Japanese Catholics prior to 1600. However this may be,

the work grew so rapidly that the Jesuits, who had for a time resented and refused help from other orders, now invited the Dominican Fathers to join in their arduous labors of preaching, baptizing, and educating. The Dominicans have always been learned and great preachers, and their success in Japan was immediate and startling. The Prince of Satsuma took alarm, and ordered all missionaries out of his territory. Taking only their poor leper converts with them, they moved to Nagasaki, which is still the headquarters of the Dominican order.

The rapid growth of the Church continued and intensified the furious persecution, which broke out again in terrible force. The urbanity and courtesy of feudal Japan covered a ferocity almost incredible; it was as if the calm and serene Fuji San had suddenly belched forth its hidden fires. Japan set herself frankly to extirpate the Christians, believing, as the Imperial Edict ran, that this step was necessary "to secure the safety of the Empire." The edicts of persecution were not formally withdrawn until 1873, and there are many still living who remember seeing the terrible threats placarded everywhere against Christianity and promising rewards to informers. Every Japanese Christian, from the royal princes down, was called upon to recant or die. Some few chose the easier path; but even

so, many of them seem to have been deceived by the officials who, more merciful and less direct than the throne, beguiled them into thinking they were signing a declaration of their faith as they put their seal to the document of recantation. The great majority met death in appalling forms with constancy and even joy. They "counted all things as dung" compared to the divine friendship which had come to mean so much to them. The story is a dark one in the history of Japan, but it throws a flood of light upon the nobility and the extraordinary courage of which this great people is capable, when standing for that which has become dear to them, as well as upon the intensity of their nationalism. The Japanese Christians showed amidst persecution and torture the heroism and constancy which in a later age beat back imperial Russia and gave Japan her great position in the modern world. In justice to the persecutors let us remember that they acted under the impetus of fear, the greatest enemy of reason, and of patriotism, which is not always sane. Boastful Spanish captains and Dutch traders who told many tales of ruthless imperialism, English skippers of Queen Elizabeth were more to blame than they; what might not happen to their beloved Dai Nippon if her people once gone over to the foreigner, her gods slighted, and her ancient heritage forgotten, the imperialist mon-

archs of Spain and Portugal should seize their opportunity and make her a vassal state? So the Emperor, "weak in all righteousness," strengthened his resolution and the fell work went on.

What are the great lessons of this noble venture of faith?

1. Like Buddhism in the seventh century, the new faith is courteously received and eagerly espoused. It enters by invitation of a Japanese.

2. Noble Japanese converts make their own contribution, and work at making the new faith a Japanese thing.

3. The nemesis of sectarian jealousy and of political intrigue overtakes the Church; and in spite of the careful and courteous methods of the first missionaries, a certain arrogance of tone in some of the later men strengthens Japanese suspicion of European imperialism lurking behind the efforts of the Church.

4. The reality and devotion of the converts to the new faith is tested and proved in the fires of persecution. Their Christianity cannot be doubted: it is the promise of a noble future.

Protestantism tarried long before it became missionary-minded and the resurrection of the Christian Church in Japan did not come till the middle of the nineteenth century.

We have seen how the nationalist spirit of the Japanese had risen in the days of Nobunaga to

the challenge of a new faith; and how in each case it assumed the leadership in making over that new faith until it fitted the Japanese. This is still truer, perhaps, in the next era of missions in Japan—that of the Protestant churches. In the providence of God, as we now see it, Japan had to wait longer than India and China for the New Evangel. No regular missionary work began in Japan in the times of Morrison in China and of Carey in India: yet occasional missionary visitors came from China as early as 1803, and the circulation of the Scriptures in Chinese began. In 1848 some British naval officers stationed at Loochoo formed a "Naval Mission" and did something toward evangelizing Japan. But the official beginning of Protestant missions dates from 1854, the year after Perry's expedition had "opened" Japan to Western influence. Article I of the Treaty of Kanawaga reads, "There shall be a perfect, permanent, and universal peace and a sincere and cordial amity between the United States of America on the one part and the empire of Japan on the other part, and between their peoples respectively, without exception of person or place." It was a good inauguration for a new day, alike for Japan and for the Christian Church; and this treaty was followed, in 1858, by another negotiated by that stanch Christian, Townsend Harris, who, on behalf of the United

States, secured for foreigners the right to reside in certain treaty ports. Now began a steady stream of Protestant missionaries from the United States and other countries, and it is touching to record that they found scattered groups of Japanese who through all adversity had remained faithful to the faith of Xavier and their Catholic fathers.

Their work has been carried on nobly by missionaries chiefly of the French Church, and in Korea in particular, the saintly bishop who entered the country nearly sixty years ago, disguised as a pilgrim, has a large and faithful following. Two ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church arrived from America in 1859 and were closely followed by Presbyterian, Baptist, and Dutch Reformed missionaries. Though a Japanese may to-day object reasonably enough to being called a Dutch Reformed American Japanese Christian, or even an American Methodist Episcopalian Japanese Christian, yet he would be the first to salute the memory of these able and devoted pioneers. Dr. Guido Verbeck, for instance, a Dutchman born in Utrecht and educated in the United States, was well fitted to start the new work. His Dutch birth made him acceptable to the merchants of that country settled in Deshima and in Nagasaki, and his versatile genius and gifts as an educator soon attracted the atten-

tion of the Japanese government, to whom he became unofficial adviser for a period of nine years. There is no doubt that he had a large share in shaping the new educational system which has so marvelously changed the life of Japan. All the world has marveled at her transition in one generation from a mediaeval feudal state to a powerful modern nation. At Verbeck's advice, a steady stream of Japanese students visited Europe and America, and he himself accompanied the first group, as Jesuit missionaries had done four hundred years before.

There is here a contrast as well as a comparison that is instructive. The Jesuits were concerned with the glory of their Church, the conversion of these young nobles to it, and their consecration to the priesthood; what else could matter? To them the Church and the Kingdom of God were synonymous. The Protestant missionary, more far-sighted it may be, chose rather to take his part in a great secular movement for national education. Like Carey in India, Verbeck realized that modern knowledge is really the best friend of the Christian cause, and that the Kingdom of God is broader than the Church. In this conviction also worked other pioneers; James C. Hepburn, of Princeton and Pennsylvania, was the first medical missionary to Japan, unless we accept the old tradition that in the seventh century

a Nestorian doctor, Rimitsu, came to the court of the Emperor Shomu; but he was no doubt more of a medical adviser to the throne than to the masses. Hepburn gained the esteem of all classes. With an extraordinary grasp of the language and great literary gifts he combined very considerable medical skill, and in 1905 this grand old man, like Verbeck before him, was honored by the Emperor with the Order of the Rising Sun. Another noble pioneer was Channing Williams, consecrated in 1866 "Bishop of China and Japan"—some diocese! The situation in Japan was such that "it drew like a magnet" good men from the Western world, but especially from America, and into every phase of useful work. The present era, another era of restless change and of seething new ideas, offers a similar challenge. The Japanese Church agrees that missionaries are still needed, but that it is only the ablest and those with the humblest spirit of service whom it needs. Like the "Companions of Jesus," these missionaries should be a staff-corps capable of brilliant leadership; but unlike them, they are called upon to lead from below, to subordinate themselves to the people of the country, and to give them such expert knowledge as they ask. To be a missionary in Asia to-day demands great gifts of heart and spirit as well as of mind. But God has also His private soldiers, and in the

early days of missions there were many such who did memorable work. We must not forget the worthy Jonathan Goble, an ex-marine of the United States Navy. Every tourist who rides in the ubiquitous jinrickisha and every stalwart Japanese who pulls one, should know that it was the worthy Goble who invented this indispensable "man-power carriage," and while they remember that, they should also know that it was he who, in 1871, printed an edition of St. Matthew's Gospel in Japanese from wooden blocks—a more lasting and far-reaching service. The "ricksha" is almost obsolete. The Gospel is coming into its own. These pioneers were unanimous in their testimony to the wonderful opportunities of Christianity in those early days. "The avalanche of them almost stuns us." And they were encouraged, not only by finding evidences of the vitality of the faith planted so long ago by the Roman Church, but by a group of noble converts which began to gather around them. These two facts make the story of early Protestant missions in Japan a very fascinating one. It has great and picturesque figures like the Russian archimandrite Nicolai and the Japanese Niisima.

Protestant and Russian orthodox mission work, begun with so much success and so much encouragement, received before very long a serious setback. At the end of the first period, which

lasted about thirty years, there were some thirty thousand Japanese Christians, and Christianity was already a vital and wholesome leaven in the Empire. It was regarded as the religion of the Western world (though as we now know, there are no Christian nations in the strict sense), and the glamour of all things Western was over it. Once more it looked as if the Japanese nation might go over wholly to the new faith. Here was a hidden danger to Christianity. It would mean that millions were baptized for political reasons, or because it was the fashionable thing; and as it was, some were undoubtedly "converted" because of a certain Athenian desire for some new thing, that is not uncommon in Japan.

But a reaction soon set in. About 1889 the soul of Japan began to show its old quality of selective judgment. The nation had learned much from the West; Americans had taught her agriculture, Englishmen naval efficiency and engineering, Italy much about Western art, and Germany about medicine and military matters; but now Japanese experts were ready; the foreign schoolmasters were superseded; and Japan began to recognize that there were many things in the Western world that she did not want. Again, with the new passion for the throne, now rehabilitated, and for the magnificent leadership of the Emperor and his councillors, the ancient Shinto faith,

which is essentially nationalist, revived, and it seemed the patriotic thing to remain loyal to this Kami-no-michi, or Way of the Japanese gods and heroes. Certain liberal and socialistic movements which were considered a grave danger, were associated in the mind of the Government with Christian teachings, and this gave a further setback to Christianity. It must also be confessed, too, that many missionaries, like the churches which sent them out, were somewhat obscurantist in their teachings. We have before us to-day the melancholy spectacle of the battle of the half-baked—a senseless tilting at the windmill of evolution (which revolves just as before) on the one hand; on the other fantastic claims as to the grist which can be got out of it. In 1890 there were many such obscurantists, and perhaps the majority of the missionaries seemed to young Japan to stand between her and the eagerly sought science of the West. Young America and young Europe, as one may read in the letters of Edmund Gosse and many another, were torn by the same conflict, or apparent conflict, between the headstrong young Science and the conservative old Theology, and it was clear that the heart of youth was with its mind in choosing the former. Thank God that there were some intelligent and far-sighted enough in all lands to preach evolution and other scientific doctrines as the friends

and not the foes of Christianity. The University of Tokyo treasures the scientific library of one such American teacher. Another cause of this revolt was that the Christianity of that period was somewhat individualistic; the noble example of a Verbeck or a Hepburn was not always followed. Finally, some missionaries were masterful, and their converts sometimes headstrong. This reaction against Christianity, intellectual, political, and social, was at once expressed and intensified by the Imperial Rescript of 1890, which urges Japan to return "to the way and teaching bequeathed by our imperial ancestors, to be observed alike by their descendants and subjects. It is fitted for all ages and true in all places."

Japan, in other words, had again been attracted to the religion of Jesus, and had drawn back because Christian leaders seemed unready to face the new learning for which she was so eager, and because her own people who went abroad came back and told her of the shame of great slum cities, and of the failure of the Christian Church to put its own house in order. With all its attractive power, Christianity seemed intellectually less strong than Buddhism, and socially the preserve of respectable groups, whereas Buddhism had proved in the person of men like the rugged Nichiren a message for the common people, and had often been a power for social reform.

In spite of great Japanese leaders like Niisima and Wakasa and Sawabe, it had not yet been proved that it fitted the Japanese, or that it could be a great power in building the new nation.

In the person of Toyohiko Kagawa it has already proved a mighty power, and is seen adapting itself to the genius of the Japanese. More universal even than the principles of Gandhi are his interpretations of the meaning of Christ and of his Cross. Let us watch him at work and let him speak to us in his own inimitable way.

I shall never forget my first vivid impression of him.

(iv)

The greatest hall in Tokyo was crowded, for all the city had turned out to honor General Booth, friend of the poor. The Prime Minister of Japan presided, and upon the platform were seated many public men. I sat between a dignitary of the Church of England and a small youthful Japanese dressed in the corduroy of the working man, which is the badge of Japanese socialism. He was listening eagerly as the old warrior turned to the Prime Minister and invited him to join his Army of Temperance and Social Service, and as a smile went round the vast throng I realized that the great man's reputation did not make it likely that he would accept the invitation. As for the poor, well, they were coming into their

own anyway. As we went out I was amazed to see the governor of the city and other high officials bowing before my youthful neighbor, and the people eagerly crowding around him. We had agreed to accompany him to the poorest parts of the city, and the Canon insisted upon his taking the place of honor in the carriage: "I am not worthy to black your shoes," he said. Kagawa blushed and looked down at his boots, which had not been cleaned for many weeks, and as we set out I began to understand the new attitude of the Japanese government toward this young champion of the poor. Japan's most popular novelist and the organizer of her trades unions was a man to be reckoned with.

This was six years ago, and I have watched his steadily growing influence. Then his meetings were still under police supervision. "Now," he said to me the other day, "the government is sending the people in to hear me speak. There is danger that they will become Socialists and Christians by order of the government."

"Have you written many books?"

"Over forty," he replied, "a pile higher than myself—too many. But I must go on writing, for the royalties are needed for my work, and anyhow people want to read about it, and to know my views."

"What is your greatest contribution to the life of Japan?"

"Well, without question it is a simplification of the teachings of Christ, which include pacifism and making war upon war."

"Does the government like that?"

"No indeed, but they know that the people like it, and I have many followers amongst the young men."

Memories of those talks come back as I hear that this great champion of the people and of peace has been broadcasting poems and addresses protesting against the outrages committed by his people in China.

Here is a little vignette, which reminds us that the poets have been the only champions of the poor in China until now.

Why?
My tears fall—
While the people are wanting food, and starving,
Heartless militarists make war upon them!
Wandering in the hills are men and women
Hunting firewood and praying for peace.
Do the militarists know these gentle hearts?

It is not to be wondered at that a strong country in its most aggressive mood should resent so outspoken a critic, yet the Japanese government had but lately made Kagawa head of its Social Service Bureau. The House of Peers had read his pamphlet on poverty, describing the slums as the breeding places of evil, had reprinted it as their own and voted over $10,000,000 for the

rebuilding of five slum areas. Then they sent for him. "We offer you 10,000 yen a year and the headship of this new bureau." Like a flash came the answer. "I accept on two conditions. First, that you pay me nothing: second, that you obey me." Apart from this he has refused office because of his manifold other activities, and because he must be free from party labels. How has he come to this position of authority?

Born in a Samurai family forty-three years ago, and destined by a wealthy uncle to a diplomatic career, he broke away because of immoral conditions in his home, went as a boy of sixteen to live in the slums, found that in the Sermon on the Mount and in the Cross there was a solution of these tangled problems and, in the Christian family of a missionary an example of what might be throughout Japan. In due course he found his way to Princeton, and there in the Biological Laboratory, as well as in the Theological Classroom, he learned a new interpretation of life. "I discovered after four years that I was a Presbyterian minister, but I decided not to let this interfere with my usefulness," he says. He went back accordingly to the slums, and began to unite Christians and others of good will into a Company of Jesus. "For we remember the blessed Francis Xavier, that great Spanish nobleman,

who came among us in great humility, and we are grateful."

The *Jesu-no-Tomo* accepts a simple rule of life, and has five "fundamentals" for the rebuilding of Japan. These are (to recapitulate):

> Piety in Christ: that is, rethinking God and man in terms of the life of Christ and his teachings.
>
> Peace, which means making war upon war, and destroying its roots.
>
> Purity, which means making war upon evil in all forms.
>
> Service, which means the replacing of the profit motive by that of service.
>
> Work of the brain, or of the hand.

These, he says, are the essentials of the Christian Faith; and they are certainly an admirable application of it to the needs of to-day. "One is enough," said a great Chinese leader to me lately, "two, three, four and five follow from it."

When a new book by Kagawa is announced it is sold before it is off the press. The first great success came when a publisher took his diary of life in the slums and published it with the title "Beyond the Death Line." [8a] It is said to have gone into more than half a million copies. His religious books, "Love the Law of Life," and

[8a] American edition, *Before the Dawn.* Harper & Brothers.

others, are sold for about five cents, so that the poorest may buy them, and their influence is immense. He teaches that the Sermon on the Mount is the foundation for the new society, that history must not be interpreted fatalistically or by mere economic laws; that everything else having failed, it is time to practice the Way of Love, and that men having failed, we should look for new life in God. He continually warns his people of the lessons of the past, and this is a typical poem, suggestive of his direct and frank approach.

CHILD OF AN ACHING HEART

Again I have become the child of an aching heart,
  Carrying the burden of Japan's crime,
Begging pardon of China and of the world,
  With a shattered soul;
I have become a child of sadness.

It is surely a sign of the times that so outspoken a rebel is left at large. Kagawa has been in prison more than once, and this is a typical poem voicing his free spirit behind prison bars:

A high iron gate in front of me.
Heavy chains around my wrists.
But no locks have they to lock my eyes.
And I, with eyes wide open,
I steal the light.

What is the light which I stole?
The light of the North Star which twinkles high.
If stars are with me
I do not lack in friends.

Dragging chains behind me,
I climb to the window.
From this window my body cannot escape.
But my soul,
My soul swims upward to the sky.

To the world of light,
My soul flies.
To the north, farther to the north, higher and higher.
Good-bye, Earth, good-bye.
Release from chains need I no more,
For I fly to the sky of stars.

If stars are with me,
I do not lack in friends.
To-night
I shall sleep with my stars.[4]

He was imprisoned for organizing trades unions and encouraging the strikers and it is partly due to his efforts that the embargo was removed. He is accepted as a close and accurate student of the industrial situation in his own country, and has spent half his life in the mushroom city of Kobe. He knows that the problems of unemployment and of crime are linked together: he has seen the fearful ravages of disease and the heavy toll in the young womanhood of Japan, and is the most feared enemy of the evil system of the *Yoshiwara* or licensed prostitution. Its promoters have sought to bribe him and to intimidate him, but he is quite fearless; and in the same way to

[4] From "Sharing Tears," translated by Miss Fujita.

the great captains of industry he has thrown down this challenge:

> Through the factory window comes the sunshine,
> It lights up the men and the machines.
> Is the day at hand, O God,
> When the man shall matter more than the machine?

As we have seen, the Samurai of the Middle Ages were feudal knights and retainers. The word means "servant," that is, servant of the Emperor or of the Over-Lord. To-day men think of Kagawa as the Christian Samurai and immediately there comes up a different picture, that of "the suffering servant" of Isaiah. So he has filled this proud old word with new meaning. His eyes are attacked by trachoma, caught by sharing his bed with an old tramp; his lungs are tubercular—but let him speak for himself:

"All my life I have been ill. While in the second year of middle school, I had to stop because the apex of one lung had become tubercular. I began to have hemorrhages when I was seventeen years old, and two years later I was so seriously ill that I had to rest for a year. For four or five years the fever did not leave me. At twenty I hardly weighed seventy-six pounds; I now weigh over one hundred and forty. So when you are told that you have tuberculosis, you need not worry. Sickness has to do with the spirit.

When the spirit is healed, the physical sickness will go. If you say, 'I have consumption, therefore it's hopeless,' you will not get well. I now have diabetes, and I have had severe attacks of pleurisy. Because of another trouble I cannot eat solid food. My heart is weak, too, and since I caught trachoma in the slums a film has formed over the cornea, injuring my eyesight. The doctor has said over and over that I could not recover; but because I believed I would, I did. When an auto that I was in collided with an electric train, I injured my spine and broke my arm. At the time of the great earthquake in 1927, I went down to the town of Ayabe, in the province of Tango, and there suffered from inflammation of the middle ear. With all these ailments, I am still active. Illness is a matter of the spirit. I feel that it is half mental and half physical. If you believe, come what may, you can overcome it and recover. This is religion. I have peace because my heart is easy. I have crossed the death-line, so nothing matters. Since I have as good as died once, the rest is all gain. What is living to me is merely the spirit." [5]

This is a typical passage from his frank and simple appeal to the people. He speaks with a voice of authority, because he has experienced

[5] *New Life Through God,* edited by K. J. Saunders. Fleming Revell & Co. Reprinted by permission.

for himself the conquest of death and the triumph of life.

(v)

His autobiographical novel, "Beyond the Death Line,"[6] is a realistic work, which might have come from the pen of a Gorky, and the following passage is characteristic of his frank approach to the problems of poverty and crime. Eiichi is Kagawa himself, living in a tiny house in the slums.

"A crowd of poverty-stricken people had assembled and they were expressing their sympathy for Fuji. A beggar-woman named Haru, seeing Eiichi there, appealed to him.

" 'Help her, master,' she said. 'It's a shame. She ain't had any food for two days, poor thing."

"Eiichi paid the rent for eight days for Fuji and promised to send her some rice. When he got home he found Masa, the wife of Yasu, who lived at the back of his house, standing by the side of the well, with a baby strapped on her back, washing something blackish which was hardly distinguishable as rice. Her eyes were red and swollen and as she had only one thin kimono on, although it was the coldest time of the year, the baby was placed next to her bare skin to keep it warm.

[6] This book, entitled *Before the Dawn,* is published by Harper & Brothers. The quotations are reprinted by permission.

"Eiichi asked her why she was crying.

" 'It's very good of you to ask, master,' she replied. 'My man wallops me because I ain't got any rice, but he never brings anything home from the funerals, and I ain't got any money to buy rice, and as you know, master, I've got six or seven hungry mouths at home to fill, and I've borrowed money from everybody I could. "Go and get some money and buy some rice," says he. "Can't you do that? A lot of good you are." That's the way he bullies me, but I can't go out like other women and get it on the streets, so I went to Nada, where all the saké breweries are, and gathered up the rice fallen on the ground. I thought of making some gruel with it, but it's so mixed with earth that it ain't eatable. My man puts all the blame on me, and always says he's going to kill me or wallop me.'

"The woman's tears pattered down into the tub.

"Eiichi's eyes quickly filled with tears in sympathy, and without saying anything he retired. A fit of hysterical weeping overcame him.

" 'God,' he cried, 'why do the poor suffer thus?'

"He determined that henceforth he would confine his wardrobe to one kimono and took an oath to God that he would touch neither meat nor fish, in order to be able to help these poor

people. His remaining clothes he determined to sell and to give the money to the poor. He would become an apostle of one kimono."

There is lastly in this indomitable fighter a charming sense of humor, which crops up continually in his vehement speech and in his writings. Here is a passage which is typical of his preaching:

"We have an unlimited desire to become a minister of state or a prince or to be decorated. In Japan there are only about thirteen ministers. They are not always necessarily great men. Some cannot cook their own rice, even. When so-called great men cannot cook their rice, they turn the job over to their servants; but it is really great to be of use to others. Would it not be a good thing if a jinrikisha puller believed that he had as great a mission as a minister of State?

"When I was put into prison for working in the Labour Movement, I learned one good thing; that was how to take a bath in one minute. The first morning I was in prison I ate a mixture of wheat and corn—half and half! My! but it was good! I lived in the slums for fourteen years and eight months, in a six by six room; so my nine by six prison cell was larger than my own house. In prison there were no vermin, as there were in my house. Furthermore, while in prison I gained more than five pounds. When my number,

"Mi 58," was called, I had to answer. It would be a good thing if we thought of our place of suffering as an exercise-hall—if we thought of it as a grindstone on which we were to be made perfect. "God is faithful and will not allow us to be tried beyond our strength." With this conception, Japan will become better. Let us keep our minds on this hereafter."

His spontaneous prayers which follow his addresses are brief, pithy and poetical. Here are a few clauses:

"We are lost in the fog: have pity on us and teach us the right path. . . . Make anew those whose bodies are rotten, that they may become sons of God."

Here then is a writer and a social reformer who will repay close study. At a recent gathering in China he gave the following account of his early days, and of his conversion to Christianity. It is a document of great importance, revealing a sincere and devout personality and helping us to understand the directness and frankness of his speech, his sympathy with the old and his passionate devotion to the new.

Apostolic fervor and evangelical simplicity are combined in him with a very wide and far-reaching application of the ideals of Christ to society.

"In my fifteenth year I was baptised as a Christian. We had a big war with Russia about that

time, but I hated war because I had been influenced by Tolstoi. When I was sixteen I went up to Tokyo to study in the Presbyterian college. There were only three pacifists among the students, two boys, who were brothers, besides myself. These brothers were very clever fellows and therefore they kept quiet; but I did not! I said boldly that I was against war, even against the war with Russia. So one night the student-assembly decided that I was to be judged. I was called out at night to the playground back of the theological seminary. There the students were gathered together, headed by a senior. This boy, a theological student, asked me:

'Do you say Japan made a mistake to declare war against Russia?'

'Yes!' I replied.

'Oh! You are a most foolish fellow! Now obey our orders!'

"Then one of the students came up to me and slapped me on the cheek. I was Tolstoian, so I didn't resist at all. But I wept, because I was very young. I was beaten many times that night, I have forgotten how many. I came back to my room feeling very lonesome. But I didn't keep quiet. I preached peace.

"I have continued to preach it. Twenty-four years later, in 1928, when the Japanese occupied Shantung, I agitated against it. I organized the

All Japan Anti-War League. I asked the labor unions to help me with it, as well as the other labor, social and religious groups. We named it the All Japan Anti-War Federation.

"I anticipated that this move would mean some danger for me, and sure enough, before long, my friends came anxiously to warn me that all over Tokyo, even in its central section, there were posted bills in many places saying:

> KILL THE TRAITOR KAGAWA!
> HE IS AGAINST THE NATION!
> HE IS A TRAITOR TO THE NATION!

"My friends wanted me to avoid the danger, but I said, 'Yes? That's nothing. For many years I have been accustomed to that kind of experience! When I led the General Strike of thirty-five thousand, in Kobe in 1921, though I was only the advisor, the public took me to be the person chiefly responsible. So for forty days reports kept coming in from many different sources. "You are going to be murdered by ruffians." But they didn't kill me. I was arrested at the end of that time, and then I was quite safe, being in prison!'

"So when the placards were posted against me in 1928, I said, 'All right! If they want to kill me, I shall die for the Peace of the world!'

"The very next day after having received this

warning was the one scheduled for the mass meeting of the new Anti-War Federation. It was to be held in the evening, and when I arrived at the public hall there were four hundred policemen already arrived to protect me! The proceedings of that evening were highly interesting. The police kept order so strictly that whoever even shouted during the meeting was taken out and arrested. Among those arrested were two Presbyterian elders, and it fell to my lot to go to the police station and secure their release!

"I was thoroughly entertained to have this privilege, noting the contrast with that earlier Russo-Japanese War experience. Then a theologue, now pastor of one of the largest Presbyterian churches in Tokyo, had led the other students in condemning me for pacifism. Now two Presbyterian elders were so carried away by their emotion for peace as to get themselves arrested, while four hundred policemen were protecting me from the anti-pacifists!

"Unless we become more religious in both Japan and China, we shall never have permanent peace. I am an humble servant or follower of Christ. Marx boys are following Marx, but I am following Christ. . . .

"My brother was very much opposed to Christianity. But I liked to study English, and so asked him whether I could go to a missionary

to do so. 'Yes,' he said, 'but you are not allowed to believe in Christ, because Christianity is an enemy to Japan!' Nevertheless my brother himself was living a very licentious life, keeping seven concubines, and soon afterward he lost all the property which he had inherited from our father.

"I was left very poor, and thus began to meditate upon life and God. My English teacher, the missionary, asked me to memorize one verse from the Bible—

"Consider the lilies, how they grow: they toil not, neither do they spin; yet I say unto you that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these."—(Luke 12:27.)

"That was an inspiration to me. And since about that time my brother died, I was led to think all the more deeply. The conviction came to me that only Christ could cure my heart. Therefore I began to believe in Him; and yet our relatives were so much against Christianity that I never said I believed in a personal God. I simply crept into my bed, put my head under the covers, and prayed to God. Sometimes I went into a closet and prayed to Him. I used to say:

'Lord, let me believe in Thee; O Lord, let me be a follower of Christ; O Lord, let me live a pure life!'

"After praying thus for over seven months, I

visited Dr. H. W. Myers, the missionary brother-in-law of my English Bible teacher, Dr. Logan, who was then living in the same house. Dr. Myers said to me:

'Kagawa, do you believe in a personal God?'

'Yes,' I replied.

'Do you pray?'

'Yes!'

'Where do you pray?' (I had never yet dared go to church.) I did not answer, because I usually prayed under the bedclothes!

'Do you really pray?' he asked me again.

'Yes, yes!'

'How long have you been praying?'

'For more than seven months.'

'Then why don't you receive baptism?' (I had been attending the Bible class for over a year, and, therefore, Dr. Myers thought it time to baptise me.)

'Because if I should be baptised, my family would put me out of the house, and I could no longer go to school.'

'Then, Kagawa, you are a very timid fellow!'

'What are you saying? Do you mean I am a coward?'

'Yes!'

'All right! In that case, I want to receive baptism!'

"I did indeed want to be baptised, even at that

very moment, for the Japanese is a courageous fellow, and the last thing he wants to be called is a coward. Two weeks later I went to church for the first time, and received baptism. At once I began to help in the Sunday School.

"As I grew in my Christian experience, I learned that to be a follower of Christ means at least three things:

"(1) *That through Him we can find the true Father in Heaven.* As I have told you, I was an orphan, lonesome, and left in a most miserable condition in poverty, and surrounded by immorality. Yet when I discovered that there is a true Heavenly Father, I found peace. I ask you, Friends, to remember that if any of you feel lonesome, and weary of life, there is a true Heavenly Father.

"(2) I found in Christ a life of *positive* goodness. Buddhism had taught us to live a life of indifference to all earthly things—to wealth, honor, to the sword, to violence, to fornication. To be indifferent in that way is a blessing. For that reason I like the teaching of Buddha and also that of Confucius, which latter is especially good and practical for anyone who wants to rule others. But both of these teachings are extremely negative. Buddha taught us indifference to earthly things; but not how to live a good life, how to be pure also in economic life, how to be-

lieve in a personal God and to pray. He did not describe heaven. I like both Buddhism and Confucianism, but I came to realize that unless I believed in Christ I could not have peace in my life, and so I accepted Christ as my Savior. I found Christ.

"(3) I found *how to practice Love.*

Sometimes we are very selfish, and do not see the use of praying. Even some of you may be asking—'Why pray? I am not sinful. I am quite pure. I have no special faults. What is the use of praying?' It is quite true, that when you are contented, and have no holy ambition to build up the nation, you may have no desire to pray. If you have a good house, good children, and a good and comely wife, you are satisfied so far as your self goes.

"But can you forget the misery of the nation, and of the poor? Oppressed by wars, oppressed by capitalism, oppressed by the injustice of the present social system—can you forget the poor? If you are contented with the sort of a world we have at present, there is no use of praying. But if we want to have real peace, and real humanity, in which human beings attain that for which the human race was intended, there are many problems for the solution of which we must pray. We must pray for each of the nations—for Africa,

for India, and for our countries of China and Japan. We must pray for world peace, for the uplifting of the poor, for the desert to be made green, for the New Age, the New Society. We must pray for *Science* to be controlled by *Conscience*. We must abolish licensed prostitution, and have done with liquor and opium. We must make all the physical contribute to spiritual betterment. We have so many things to pray for. Therefore I pray.

"Buddha did not teach us to pray, nor did Confucius. Christ did. And prayer has marvelous potency to attain its ends, however unattainable. Do we aspire—as we must—to be more godly? Then pray.

"You are studying the Bible. May you find in Christ the Way, the Truth, and the Life. May you find peace in Christ living in your heart. By Christ I mean the Love of God crystallized in Christ. I am not making an idol of Christ; I want to find the love of God crystallized in Christ."

(vi)

Kagawa believes that Japan owes very much of its moral reconstruction to Christianity: and he thus summarizes its achievements:

"Now what is the difference between Buddhism and Taoism, and Christianity in Japan?

Christianity has produced seven great changes in Japan:

"1. Home life has changed.

"(a) Concubinage is dying out. In former days concubinage was a common thing. I myself am the son of a concubine, though my father registered me in the legitimate registration. Now not a single one of the present cabinet ministers keeps a concubine. Why? Because Christian teaching got the victory over the system of polygamy.

"(b) Prostitution—we have had a long struggle against this evil—and that of the licensed quarters of which we have five hundred and forty-five. Within the last three years we have been victorious, mostly by the efforts of Christians, to pass bills for the gradual abolition of the licensed quarters in seven of the forty-six different prefectures and capital districts. In still another province, Saitama Ken, the system was completely abolished and the prostitutes given their freedom at the end of last year. This effort for purity in life is a victory for Christianity.

"(c) The Divorce Rate is decreasing. Forty years ago, out of every thousand marriages there were four hundred and thirty divorces. Now there are only a hundred and seven, as compared to about two hundred in New York. Why? By reason of Christianity. This is one of the great victories of Christianity in Japan. Though its

numbers are small, Christianity has won this great victory of purity in home life.

"(d) Respect for Children. In Japan children were not respected until after Christianity came. Then respect for children came with it. The fifth day of the fifth month is Boys' Day. We have the big carp flying in the air. This is children's day, and all the towns and villages everywhere commemorate it. We must reduce infant mortality, and care for the children—we have so many associations now for children, imitating Christian institutions.

"(e) Respect for women. Even today in Japan women have small dishes and are allowed to eat very little. But after Christianity came respect for women grew astonishingly. That involves respect for home life, and leads on to respect for labor. There is an interesting relation between these two things, respect for women and respect for labor. In old Japan the only honorable word for wife was 'okusama,' which means 'the lady behind.' It implied that a wife, to be held in honor, must be idle all the time. Such was actually the case in the old days, but since Christianity came, women have been educated and respected, and the invidious distinction between honorable wives and working women has been abolished.

"2. Respect for Labor. In Japan and in the Orient, in general, laborers and manual workers

were not respected in former days, but when Christianity came, labor began to be respected. Ten years ago it was not yet so. I wrote an essay that year called 'Worship of the Laborers' and was fined a hundred yen. But now we have gotten the victory. Jesus the Carpenter has gotten the victory.

"3. Since Christianity came, the great achievement is the democratic movement—democracy in home life, democracy in occupation. For instance, we have the outcaste system. In Japan we have no slaves, but the slaves of former days were treated as outcastes. When Christianity came the outcastes disappeared. Inside the Christian church many weddings are now going on with outcastes. We don't even pronounce the word. In the slums of Kobe my chief work was with the outcastes. I also had contact with them later in the Peasant Movement. We persuaded the Peasant Movement to permit the outcaste group to join them.

"4. Parliamentarism. Mr. Nakashima, the first, and Kenkichi Kataoka, the second presiding officers of the Japanese Parliament were Christians, earnest Christians, the latter having once been the president of the Doshisha. The democratic movement was from the beginning led by Christians, both nationally and locally.

"5. Respect for life. There is a great deal of

suicide in Japan, fourteen thousand cases annually, but since Christianity came there has been care for would-be suicides, and prevention of this evil. Mrs. Jo in Kobe has cared for thousands of girls who tried to commit suicide.

"6. Respect for formerly despised occupations. In Japan butchers were treated as outcastes, and fertilizer dealers were looked down on. Christianity teaches respect for occupations, because Christianity teaches love for the poor and respect for all honest labor.

"7. Philanthrophy. Now the Buddhists are imitating us, but Christians started and managed such philanthropic work as that for lepers, the insane, orphans, for the aged, reformatories for ex-convicts, work which represents love for sinners, and the temperance and prohibition movement which was organized first by Mr. Ando, a Christian.

"In this fashion the ethical teaching of Jesus Christ, centred in the Cross, is a glorious success in Japan. You cannot deny the Christian victory in Japan. And I know Christianity will win. Though the Christian victory in the economic circle may be very slow I know it will win in China. Because it has won in Japan it will win in this country."

(vii)

Let Kagawa speak for himself, too, upon the central themes of Christ and the Cross, and upon the Way of Peace. Here he stands revealed as one of apostolic fervor who has added to his love knowledge—a social reformer of far-reaching significance—a pacifist who is attacking the economic rocks of war—a mystic who is very realistic.

First comes a very timely appeal to missionaries to be loving, and it is a fine tribute to their work:

WORKING UNDER THE SHADOW OF THE CROSS
(Matt. 10-16.)

"It is a great privilege to be with you to give testimony to Christ. To believe in God and to believe in the love of God are two different things. Many people believe in God, but they do not understand the love of God. It was Jesus Christ who revealed to us the real love of God. It is a great thing.

"In the nineteenth century the scholars wanted to make Christianity very simple. And they were about to forget the meaning of the Cross. Harnack told us 'There are two kinds of Christianity, primary and secondary Christianity. The first is the Christianity of Jesus, and it is merely the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of

man. Secondary Christianity is Pauline, and consists of Christ-idolatry.' This Harnack rejects, calling it Paul's Christianity. Harnack wants to ignore the meaning of the Cross, which Paul emphasizes. This is a great mistake. There is only one Christianity, the Christianity of love. And love is crystallized in the manifestation of God's love on the Cross. The Cross is central to Christianity. Christianity does not depend on doctrines. We are tired of doctrines. In Japan we are sick of them. But we are hungry for the love of the Cross.

"In this country I think that you missionaries are the demonstrations of the love of God. I am a result of a Christian mission. If a missionary had not come to Japan I would never have known God. When I was fifteen I was a very solitary, lonesome boy. I lived a most sorrowful life. Some of you may consider that my confession is of a peculiar kind, but I want to tell you the whole story. Why is Christianity needed in Japan? Many Americans and English people ask me that question, 'Why—when you already have good religions in Japan?' I tell them that my very existence shows the reason why.

"I was brought up in a Buddhist family. My father was private secretary to the Privy Council of the Emperor, one of the dignitary officials of the government. And yet he kept many concu-

bines. His legal wife had no children. The second wife was a dancing girl. She had many children. I am one of them. I was adopted as a legitimate child. But my father's legal wife never loved me. I was taken to a cold, ice-frozen home. I wept day and night. If I had not been able to find God, I would have been ruined.

"My father believed in Confucius. There was Buddhism also, and Shintoism, in my home, but no purity. I was sent to a Buddhist temple as a boy to memorise Confucian doctrines, but I was afraid to read those books because I thought if I grew up probably I would follow the steps of my father and brother. 'Be a saint! Be a gentleman!' those books kept repeating. But there was neither saint nor gentleman anywhere near me for me to pattern my life by. My brother had brought home six or seven geisha girls at one time. Later, after my father's death, I was in my uncle's home, and at eleven years of age, endured going to school from what seemed like a house in the licensed quarter.

When I got the Spirit of God, especially through the Sermon on the Mount, my eyes were opened. 'Consider the lilies, how they grow!' I memorised those simple verses. Oh! it was inspiration to me! I found the Truth. I found the Life. I found the way to become holy, to be saintly, to be godly.

"And I found that Christianity can complete the teaching of Confucius and the teaching of Buddha. Having studied all the systems of philosophy in the Orient and in the West, I have noticed that the teaching of Confucius and that of Buddha do not lay emphasis on the foundation of belief in God. Socrates never touches God, nor Plato. Only Jesus Christ gives us wonderful stories of the love of God. And not only this, He taught us how to obtain the power to practise. Some of you become too accustomed to this wonderful teaching. You may forget how blessed it is. But for me it was a new experience. I had passed through the valley of solitude. I was a son of tears. Now the cloud passed by and sunshine was gleaming through it. Therefore I began to live up to the life of the Cross.

"When I was twenty-two I went down to live in the slums, remaining there fourteen years and eight months. It was not only the Bible which taught me the love of God and Christ, and led me to take this step. It was a missionaary, Dr. H. W. Myers of Kobe. He baptised me. If he had not come to Japan probably I would not have found Christ. And when I recollect his personal kindness and piety, all the time I admire him. And also I admire Christ. It was through Dr. Myers' kindness that I learned to love. When I suffered from tuberculosis, my Japanese

friends did not love me. It was too contagious. They might catch it. Therefore I had to depart from them and live alone. But Dr. Myers showed his love in many ways. He even slept with me three nights in the same bed, without any fear of tuberculosis.

"Soon after that I went into the slums of Kobe, and there practised the love with which Dr. Myers had loved me. I ask you to love your Chinese friends as Dr. Myers loved me.

"The manifestation of Christianity is not by simply preaching. Love will win the world. I am not afraid of any kind of persecution. Love is stronger than persecution.

"Three hundred and eighty years ago Xavier came to Japan. Through his influence five hundred thousand became Christians, but persecution came and lasted over fifty years. It is a wonderful story. The war lords thought they could stamp out Christianity. But when, sixty years ago the Emperor's government declared religious freedom, on that day twenty-five thousand Christians appeared around Nagasaki.

"The Japanese are not afraid of any kind of persecution. When Protestant Christianity came seventy-one years ago we had persecutions. The first missionaries came from Shanghai, Dr. Verbeck among them. But it was a reactionary period. The first thirteen Christians in Yoko-

hama expected to be hanged. They had a prayer meeting, thinking they would be in heaven the next day. They said, 'We shall be arrested. All right! We are sons of knights. We shall die for the Cross.' But that night a messenger came from Tokyo saying, 'They have repented. No persecution will come.'

"Even to this day Christianity is persecuted in Japan. Where newspaper and magazine influence is greater, it is not so, but where Buddhism is strong, there is still persecution. It is too bad that two hundred and ninety years ago there was a Christian rebellion. This still causes the government to have some doubts about our religion. If those Catholic Christians had been able to stand persecution with love, without rebelling, probably we should have been more successful.

"But today the tide has changed. Hundreds give testimony that Christians are the best citizens. Hara and Takahashi, two prime ministers, were Christians, and many of the wives of prime cabinet ministers have come from Christian families. Many cabinet ministers, men at court, great educators, and great scientists in Japan are Christians. The tide *has changed.*

"During the past two and one-half years I have been spending most of my time in preaching. While also helping Tokyo City to organize industrial labor and social work, I have preached

to audiences numbering six hundred thousand altogether, in various parts of Japan, during this period, and have received decision cards of about forty thousand people.

"Not only do many want to become Christians, the Japanese Christians are supporting their own churches. We have only three hundred thousand Christians in Japan including Catholics. Though poverty-stricken and few in number, the Japanese Christians raise two million yen annually for Christian church work. Christianity is common sense in Japan now.

"To the newspapers this is axiomatic, that Christianity is common sense. Newspapers of over a million daily circulation receive my writings continually and publish them without hesitation. Although the Soviet movement is strong in Japan, the idealistic movement is stronger yet. Over and over again as I have travelled about, preaching, I have been told stories of humble believers giving testimony to the love of Christ in the villages.

"And I have heard many stories about the love of the missionaries. Recently one of them, Dr. Hail of Wakayama, died. Then the Osaka Mainichi, a newspaper with a circulation of over a million copies, wrote his life story. He had been in Wakayama fifty years, and had refused to leave his post. Many great novelists and edu-

cators have been baptised by him. He had lived a most simple life. He lived on Japanese food, which is worse than Chinese food! He travelled through the mountains on foot. I am simply following in his steps.

"So many missionaries are doing wonderful work. There is Norman of Shinshu, everybody in Shinshu knows him. Governors of the province change, but Norman has been there thirty-five years and never changes. They say in his province that there are three notable things, and one of them is Norman! He is famous and everybody loves him. Many write stories about him. One day a village boy saw him and said, 'There's a foreigner!' But another boy corrected him quickly! 'No he's not a foreigner! He is Dr. Norman!'

"They have forgotten that Dr. Norman is a Canadian. They love him so much. The influence of his life *is* Christianity. When I visited his district, thousands of young men wanted to become Christians. Why? Because Norman is there. He cannot preach well. His language is not sufficient. There is very little need of preaching in Japan now anyway because everybody can read the Bible.

"In this country you have a difficulty. You must teach the people to read. I understand, because I had to do it in the slums. Living in the

slums fourteen years and eight months and spending my most precious time, I got only eighty-four or eighty-five people to become Christians. Spending two and one-half years travelling over Japan I got forty thousand.

"Therefore, friends, do not be discouraged. If you influence a few in the villages, and if you try to love them, under the shadow of the Cross, you are a success. In this time of turmoil and trouble I pray for you. Christianity suffered three hundred years in the time of the Roman Emperors. The Christians were not afraid to go down to the catacombs and pray there. When the bandits came down from the north the Roman Emperors were crushed but the Church remained.

"Love never faileth. The religion of Jesus Christ is not a superstition. It will stand forever. The Cross of Jesus belongs to eternity. We must believe that. Only the Cross of Jesus will win the Orient. Some of you may think the Cross a foolish thing,—that it is tiresome to give testimony for the Cross. But the time of victory will come. To conquer the Roman Empire took three centuries. It took three centuries, too, to win Japan to open belief in Christ. Many more centuries may be needed to win China. Let us be courageous and give testimony of the Love of Christ.

(viii)

The Policy and Programme of the "Kingdom of God" Movement[7]

"The Cross is the motive of the 'Kingdom of God' Movement. The motive is that Christ died for us. We are unworthy of that precious fact. Pursued by that Love, we cannot but become heirs of Christ's Blood and Death. This Cross is a stumbling block to Greeks, to Jews, to Japanese, to Americans, to English people, but to us who belong to God it is the great revelation of Love.

"Modern Churches, forgetting the Cross, are scattered and individualistic. The more they forget the Cross, the more God punishes them. In the Xth century, when Christianity forgot the Cross, it was scourged by Mohammedanism. And in the XIXth century, when it surrendered to capitalism, came the Marxian challenge. I thank God for this challenge of Marx. Marxism was the punitive admonition. If Christ's Cross had been thoroughly embraced by the Church, there would have been no chance for Marxism to appear.

"Without the Cross principle, society cannot

[7] Reprinted from The Student World, the Organ of the World's Student Christian Federation, Second Quarter, 1932, Geneva, Switzerland.

remain in permanent integration. I am convinced that the Cross is the fundamental truth of the organisation of society and of the social movement. For society cannot exist without love. . . .

"The central fact of Christ's life is the Cross, and Christ Himself is the centre of the Kingdom of God Movement. . . .

THE EDUCATION OF LAY LEADERSHIP

"In the working programme of the movement, education plays a large part, the education of lay leadership. This is in accord with the sacred records. St. Paul went about the cities and towns of the Mediterranean area, carrying no pack nor baggage, and very much needing the hospitality and cooperation of lay workers. When he first attempted to go to Ephesus, he was deterred by the Holy Spirit, and so arrived instead at Corinth, where he found Priscilla and Aquila. Paul, being of the same trade as theirs, won them to Christ through comradeship in manual labour. These tentmaking labourers had already received him into their home with warm hospitality, being themselves lonely Jews a long time away from Judea, and recently ejected from Rome by the Emperor (Acts 18:2-3).

"When Paul finally did decide to start for Ephesus, Priscilla and Aquila said to him, 'Teacher, we will go and make a home for you

there also.' So they got together their tools of trade and their family, boarded the same vessel with Paul, and moved to Ephesus. Paul left them there, and before his return to begin his apostolic work there, they opened their home and prepared the way, beginning the evangelism of Ephesus. In spite of the persecution which came later, they continued to serve Paul even at the cost of their lives, so that in Romans 16:4 Paul could say of them, 'Who for my life laid down their own necks.'

"In spreading the Way of the Lord these humble people, a Christian layman and a lay-woman, took three methods: (1) they gave their lives for Christ; (2) they opened their home; (3) they sanctified their daily labour.

"It is not hard to imagine that a large part of the cause for Paul's great success in his 'full three years' in Ephesus was the hidden work of these lay people. The Kingdom of God Movement is not primarily a movement of paid pastors and evangelists. If the Early Church had depended on the work of paid employees it would never have come into existence.

FARMERS GOSPEL SCHOOLS

"It is then, on the Biblical pattern that we are aiming, in the Kingdom of God Movement to train up five thousand lay workers. Today, Feb-

ruary 11th, 1932, we are commencing the sixth annual session of the Japan Peasant Gospel School, at my home in Kawaragi near Osaka. The school lasts but one month—it is largely imitated from the Danish Folk High School system —but we want to have a longer session when it is possible to do so. Since the starting of this first school, dozens of others have sprung up in many parts of Japan, sponsored by pastors and missionaries of many denominations.

"The aim of my school is cultural education and evangelism. We welcome only fifteen pupils at one time, but give this small number the very best of intensive training. We provide half of their board money. They pay the other half, and their travel expenses. The students live with me from the first to the last day, and we emphasize the value of what Luther called 'table talks' at the common meals together.

"We have four hours of lessons in the morning, taking Bible Study, Agricultural Science, Village Sociology, or how to reform the village from the Christian sociological viewpoint, and the History of the Christian sociological viewpoint, and the History of the Christian Brotherhoods. This last is our name for Church History, which we do not teach from the point of view of doctrine and schism. We select from it only the stories of its love movements, such as those of St. Francis, of the Moravians, and of the Gemeinschaft of

South Germany. I have translated into Japanese and published two books for this purpose, one of which is Stead's The Story of Social Christianity. The students are required not only to read these books, but to put them into practice, in their own village life. This is stronger than communism.

"In the afternoon we give manual labor, such as carpentry, and other handicrafts, selecting those which develop the creative ability of the students and also help provide remunerative occupation for the many leisure days of the farmers, to eke out their very insufficient farm incomes.

"In the evenings we have a variety of lessons and lectures which bear on the social problems of the villages.

"The young people who come to these schools are mostly the elder sons of farmers, who are required by the Japanese social system to carry on the work of their fathers, and so cannot leave home, even if they could afford it, for long periods of higher education. They have all had the six to eight years of primary schooling, however, and have probably kept up their reading and widened their understanding to some extent in the few years which elapse before they are liable to come to the Gospel School.

"We are considering having at least forty Gospel Schools of this kind in Japan, one for each of the provinces or prefectures.

URBAN GOSPEL SCHOOL

"We have a corresponding plan for the city manual labourers and other city people, but since they have no free days to correspond to the farm vacations, we plan for them a three-months' evening school, three nights a week, after their daily labour. A dozen years ago I started a Labour School in Osaka according to this schedule, teaching two hours each of three evenings per week, and continuing three months before the students could graduate. But what has been the result? Many of the proletarian candidates to the Japanese Diet have come from this school; and proletarian representatives to the Osaka City Assembly. I gave money out of my own pocket to start that school, and wanted to make it Christian; but the tide of the Labour Movement changed, and the school is not based on Christianity at all now. But through starting it I have realised how much such a Labour School might do for the Gospel, and I am hoping to utilise such schools, making them fortresses for Christian evangelism among the industrial and proletarian classes.

"I am very glad to be able to report, therefore, that what we intend to make the typical Gospel School in Japan for city laymen and lay-women was started in Tokyo on February 1st, 1932, with an enrollment of one hundred and sixty-eight

pupils. We had intended to limit the enrollment to one hundred, but twice that number applied, and so we admitted as many as possible. The group is composed, roughly speaking, of about one-third of labourers, one-third of business and professional men, while students and those out of employment compose each about one-half of the remainder.

"In this group of students, nearly one-third are women; two-thirds are between the ages of twenty and thirty, and about the same proportion are graduates of professional schools, colleges and universities. Fourteen different Church denominations are represented, and thirteen come from Churches adhering to none of the recognised denominations. There is thus a great variety of points of view, but it is a joy to recognise the deep and living unity not only of the group of students, but of the pastors of many sects who attended the opening session on February 1st.

CHRISTIAN COOPERATIVES

"This unity of the pastors in supporting the school is a striking gain, a gradual development which has taken place during the first two years' experience of the Kingdom of God Movement. Although starting out with more unanimity than we have ever before experienced in our Christian Movement in Japan, this present campaign has

undoubtedly deepened such unity of feeling on the part of the pastors, and paved the way for eventual organisation, out of all these distinct and sometimes conflicting denominations, of the United Church of Christ in Japan. I am most happy that at its last annual meeting, in December 1931, the Kingdom of God Movement Central Committee decided to continue for two years, beyond the first three-year period of action which was begun in 1930. Given such continuity of operation, the eventual unity of organism may be confidently hoped for. Such prolongation of the movement is absolutely necessary, moreover, to achieve its objectives.

"In the first three years, 1930-1932, we are aiming at the organisation of three separate yet coordinating enterprises, intending that each shall continue an indefinite number of years until its concrete numerical objective is attained, and perhaps even beyond that period:

"(1) Interdenominationally united evangelism, which was organised in 1930 and has already produced the by-result noted above, of unity of feeling among the pastors. During this first year about ninety district committees of pastors were organised, practically covering the Empire: 248 cities were reached through 10,278 meetings, attended by approximately 262,344 people. These are the official statistics of the Kingdom of God

Movement Central Committee. As to the number of definite decisions for Christ, the official statistics are smaller, but in my own personal records I find that in Aomori Province in November 1930 there were 1,523 cards signed in my meetings and in the previous month in Akita Province there were about 8,000, a good proportion of whom, however, must be counted as enquiries. Our eventual objective is one million new baptised Christians.

"(2) In 1931 we have been trying to organise the Gospel Schools both in city and rural districts, for the training of lay preachers, and hope to go on and do so in other cities in Japan after the school in Tokyo has set the standard for the cities; and in other rural districts as rapidly as possible. In this work our numerical objective is five thousand new trained lay preachers.

"(3) In this year of 1932, while the interdenominational evangelism is going forward with increasing momentum, and the Gospel Schools are gathering more and more pupils who will soon be aiding in the evangelism we are making our new objective the organisation of Christian Cooperatives. Concerning this application of Christianity to economics there has been preliminary teaching in the Gospel Schools, and also committee work since 1930, aiming at its organisation on a nation-wide scale. It is the most diffi-

cult of the three objectives, being the most remote from the previous experience of the mainly bourgeois church members. We are commencing, therefore, with a Physicians' Utility Cooperative for the city of Tokyo and its environs, sponsored by Dr. Inazo Nitobe as president, and a number of physicians, all specialists in their own lines, who are sacrificing their private practices and will give their full time to its Cooperative Hospital. Already there is free medicine on a charity basis for the submerged poor, and the wealthy can afford to pay medical charges; but for the middle and labouring classes, more and more affected by economic depression and unemployment, there is no medical care within their reach. A single medical examination will cost a domestic servant her month's wages, and a few days in hospital equal the month's salary of a professional man. This Cooperative Hospital, therefore, in which after a nominal entrance fee all medical care is given at cost, will meet a great and crying need. Through membership in it I anticipate that large numbers of people will learn to appreciate the benefits of the cooperative system, and to extend their interest to other types of Cooperatives.

"A related cooperative enterprise which I have started in connection with my own settlements in Tokyo, Osaka, and Kobe, and which we hope to

start on a nation-wide scale with as far as possible all the 1,800 Churches in Japan as branches, is a Sick Insurance Cooperative. This will provide for its members the moderate sums required in the Physicians' Utility Cooperative, and the two will thus constitute a complete system for the cooperative protection of the health of the community.

TRAINING STUDENTS AS LEADERS FOR THE COOPERATIVES

"Through these Cooperatives, the Church members will be educated in the Cooperative Movement in general, and will, I hope, learn to express the Love of Christ through sacrificial service in the many types of Cooperatives which are needed in Japan. At the same time (although this enterprise is not yet included under the officially recognised Kingdom of God Movement) I am trying to educate students also to leadership in the Cooperatives, through operating for them in five Tokyo Universities Consumers Cooperatives. The first was organized in Waseda University on May 15, 1926; another followed in Takushoku University in 1927; Imperial University organised in 1928 and St. Paul's and Meiji Universities in 1929. There is a Federation called the Tokyo Student Consumers' Union, which has maintained its continued existence during a most trying period when communists were

penetrating most other student organizations and inevitably causing their suppression by the police. This year, at the January 1932 Annual Meeting, the police did indeed attempt to suppress it on a technicality, and the assembly had to be postponed while I visited police headquarters and warned the authorities of the short-sightedness of such a policy. They permitted the students to reassemble a few days later and to conclude their meeting peacefully.

"Japan has a good beginning of the system of Cooperatives, in the Credit Unions, and Purchasing, Selling, and Utilisation Cooperative Societies, of which in 1930 there were more than fourteen thousand among the Japanese farmers. Since, however, these rural Cooperative Societies are liable at present to serve the more prosperous farmers rather than the poor ones, and to omit working for social reconstruction, I am endeavouring to train up large numbers of Christian leaders to go into them and fill them with the sacrificial spirit of the Love of Christ.

COOPERATIVES FOR LABORERS

"There is a similar need for Christian leadership in the Consumers' Cooperatives among city labourers and professional people, of which there is a promising development, and about one hundred and fifty stores by latest reports. The misappropriation of money by their cashiers is a

common misfortune of such societies, however, and another is their tendency at present to be captured by Marxians. In our own Cooperative Stores we make the rule, therefore, that only baptised Christians shall be put into positions of responsibility and we are at work to train such workers in large numbers, so that the Cooperative Movement all over the country may be stabilised by Christian character and vitalised by the Christian vision of a world of Love and Brotherhood. Thus we hope for the needed social reconstruction by the gradual and peaceful development of Christian Cooperatives, and to organise methods for the training of their Christian leaders as much as possible through the 1932 programme of the Kingdom of God Movement.

SANCTIFYING DAILY LABOR

"After the great Industrial Revolution, Christianity was not realised in economic enterprise. As an individual the Christian was a fine gentleman, but when he entered the industrial circle he did not know what he was doing. Therefore it remains for us of today to find out that Christianity and the science of economics do not contradict each other. When we apply the Love of Christ to social problems, we can get the best solution for them, better than communism, than anarchism, than any other attempt at their solution.

"The communists think that social science and

Christianity contradict each other; such errors have occurred before. When Galileo was put in prison and tortured in the XVIth century, it was believed that Christianity was opposed to natural science. When Darwin tried to explain natural history by the theory of evolution, again many Christians believed it contradicted the truth of Christ. But when I studied science, the more I studied biology, the more I had faith in Christ. The science of evolution is nothing but the development of morphology or changes of types of animals and plants, through which God's power is manifested. So with social science. The Love of Christ must be expressed through economics.

"We must have a Love Movement, or economic cooperation. The coldness we find at present in the Churches is because we are separated from one another. If the spirit of cooperation flames up in the Church, and comrades come together and start Cooperatives, the coldness will disappear and Pentecost come again.

"Priscilla and Aquila first gave their lives, secondly opened their home and thirdly sanctified their daily labour. In the Kingdom of God Movement we are trying to follow them, first by offering our very lives for Christ, for this is a life and death battle. Secondly we are trying to open our homes. There are individualistic types of religion, where the men retire to mountain mon-

asteries and the women to nunneries. But we must make the offering of our homes with equal devotion. By renting a twenty-yen-a-month house instead of a fifteen-yen one, you can have an extra room, for an evangelistic meeting. That is a Church-in-the-House, like those of early Christianity.

"Thirdly we are trying also to sanctify our daily labor. If we think it enough to pay a salary to pastors and evangelists and let them do the work, Japan will never be won. We ourselves must do the work. That means that we must make an offering of our occupations. We must be willing to forgo reaping the full fruits of our labours, to go, as did Priscilla and Aquila, from city to city and from village to village, supporting ourselves by our own labour while carrying the Gospel Message. If we can do this, the victory is near in Japan."

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The Economic Foundation of World Peace [8]

"This is the third year of the Kingdom of God Movement in Japan. We proposed to have the Cooperative Movement promoted in the Movement in its third year, but unfortunately find that

[8] An address at a meeting under the auspices of the Committee on the Study of Social and Economic Problems of Federated Missions. City Y. M. C. A. Tokyo, May 13, 1932.

we have not yet provided the necessary preliminary education for that purpose, to the pastors, evangelists, and Christians of Japan. Therefore it is very difficult to promote the Cooperative Movement on schedule time, but my idea is that it is absolutely impossible to have the Cooperative Movement well established in Japan without the Christian idea of the love of Christ. The reason why the Cooperatives are successful in England, Germany, France and in Denmark is simply this,—that these countries have Christianity.

"When we have the Christian spirit at the bottom of our Movement we shall be successful in it. Never without it.

"Last year we proposed to have a Medical Cooperative Association in Tokyo, and called together some Christian doctors and Christian leaders on May 2nd and started this Medical Cooperative Movement. But the Physicians' Association of Japan was much startled by this Movement and unanimously carried their votes to resist our Movement.

"Recently in Osaka the annual assembly of the Cooperative Union of Japan was held, and over 2,000 people gathered from all over Japan, and unanimously voted to assist us in this Physicians Movement. You will find that Japan is gradually awakening to the Cooperative Movement. But

in comparison to the people of Japan in general, the Christian church in Japan is so slow to be awakened to the Cooperatives; and, still more, the world is so slow to be awakened to the Cooperative Movement.

"I believe that unless we have the Mutual Aid Cooperative Movement, it is absolutely difficult to have world peace. There are four kinds of Pacifists:

"1. The first we might classify as Sentimental Pacifists. They are emotional. They don't like to fight. Their ideas are very good. I like that kind of sentiment. They have good feelings and ideals, but they are very individualistic, and with their good feeling and their good emotion, they don't see through the social turmoil. Therefore when some bad situation comes around they have no influence, and that kind of movement disappears after a short period.

"2. The second we might classify as the Moral Pacifists. Some conscientious objectors belong to them. I like them very much. They are courageous. They have vision. But their standpoint is individualistic also. It is very difficult for this point of view to gain general sway throughout society, enough to convince society to stop war.

"3. The third group is that of the Rational Pacifists. Such are the promoters of the League of Nations, the World Court at the Hague, etc.

These movements came from rational idealism. This rational idealism is very good, but unfortunately it lacks the economic foundation. Unless we have the economic foundation based on the Cooperative Movement it is impossible to have international peace.

"4. The fourth class might be called Economic or Cooperative Pacifists. Now these foregoing groups of emotional, moral and rational pacifists none of them come down to the bottom of war. As you probably understand, most of the wars of the 19th and 20th centuries came from economic problems. Unless we attain to permanent peace in the sphere of economics, it is difficult to have social welfare and world peace. Take the nearest example of the Manchurian question.

"One reason why the militarists pounced upon Manchuria was that some of these officers thought that if they could occupy Manchuria, Japan would be better off. There lies the general economic question. The boycott in China had continued so long, and the economic depression in Japan had continued also for such a long time,—and they thought—those militarists who do not understand economics,—that merely by occupying Manchuria they would raise the living standard of Japan! They did not realize the real situation.

"It is very interesting to note the temper of the people of Japan at present. In going around the

country since returning from America last November, I have visited seven provinces, and in each province I have found no hindrance for the Kingdom of God Movement,—no hindrance at all. On the contrary the young men, the leaders of the local young men's associations, are inclining to the spiritual movement. On the surface it seems that they are drawn to the fascist movement, but at the bottom they do not care much for it. When I preach the Love of Christ in its application to social reconstruction, hundreds of these young men become Christians. Recently I visited Fukushima and every day had 222 decisions—1100 in all in five days. In Kochi there were 1060. Just two days ago I came back from Gifu Province, where in five days there were 601 decisions. The evangelistic work is not difficult at all. This shows that the general public, except for the newspapers, are for peace, and that the people believe that war cannot improve the situation in Japan resulting from the economic depression.

"But the peace movement alone cannot relieve Japan from the depression of this economic trouble. We must give the people the economic foundation of peace.

"I think that we must have international understandings in regard to this matter. Again let us make use of the nearest example. As you know

Japan has a large population and much industry but very few natural resources. We do have some resources that come from the sea, from the oceans. You may perhaps know that Japan is the best fishing nation in the world. Half of all the fishermen in the world are in Japan. Since we haven't many pastures and don't eat much beef we eat much fish—raw fish too! But except for the fishes we haven't much in Japan in the way of natural resources. Iron, coal, cotton, even sugar, we must get from abroad.

"So probably those officers thought that unless we get Manchuria we cannot hold Japan in the next war. The Manchurian question is really the prologue of the next war. Think of that! When Japan has Manchuria, we have some food, some coal and some iron, and we can hold the world at bay in the 'next war' for some years!

"There lies the economic question. Unless we have better understandings between nations about the economic question, it is utterly difficult to have world peace. So we Christians must direct our energies more toward the solution of this economic problem, internationally, than merely to the 'commonsense' and plausible talk of pacifism.

"How can we cooperate economically? We have, to begin with, customs duty among the nations, and tariff competition which is troubling them. Unless we can abolish tariff wars be-

tween nations it is very difficult to have world peace.

"Please understand that I stand here as a free person, so I am going to speak about America and England and you must have generosity to listen to me. You may think that the so-called League of Nations is doing a good piece of work for the peace movement, but to my idea the League of Nations is just the beginning of world peace. It lacks essential elements of a permanent peace movement because its organization was founded on the rationalization of war.

"The League of Nations was started against Germany in the beginning, and Germany, by the opposition of the Big Four Powers of the world, was drawn into the League of Nations at last.

"There is only one independent nation in Asia and that is Japan. England took India, Cochin-China belongs to France, and so many white nations have occupied parts of Asia, including the United States of America which occupies the Philippines. Japan is the one and only independent Asiatic nation. Out of one billion one hundred million of the yellow race, Japan with its sixty-four millions is the only independent nation.

"You may consider China an independent nation, but it is there by the mercy of the League of Nations.

"If you study the colonial history of the world,

you will find that about four centuries ago the white race pounced on South America, then came to Africa, then to China. Great Britain pounced on the great Yangtsze valley; Russia pounced on Manchuria; Germany pounced on Tsingtao; France pounced on Cochin China; and Spain pounced on the Philippines. Japan was so much horrified by this situation that she fought against Russia, and Japan is still suspicious of the domination of the white race in Asia. We must remember that the League of Nations is really the League of Europe. If the white race would show more kindness and a peaceful attitude in Asia, we could trust the League of Nations.

"If Japan is assured by the League of Nations that she can live on, peacefully and kindly, in Asia, on the Pacific Ocean, probably there is no use to have a big armament in Japan. But England has not yet granted India her freedom; I don't know what is to become of the Philippines; France does not release Cochin China; America has closed its doors to Japan; Canada has closed her doors to Japan; and to the crowding population of the Japanese nation shut up in these small islands,—they have told us to keep peace here in the Islands! So there is only one way for Japan and that is to go to the ocean. That is the reason why the Japanese people are catching fishes!

"This is a serious question. I think that unless

we have economic cooperation between nations, the next war will come; because wars come from economic reasons.

"In the Aleutian Islands there were many infanticides every year. The Greek Catholic clergy attacked the habit but found it was no use to preach against it. Then they provided food, and that bad habit stopped at last. It is the same way now. We Christians preach too much, and forget to provide food for Japan and for the other poor nations. Unless we plan how to provide occupations for the disbanded army officers, —unless we provide positions for them,—it is impossible to stop the war talk.

"I am against war. I like the sentimental pacifists because they are against war; I like the rational pacifist's scheme for world peace; and I like the moral pacifist for he has courage; but unless, in addition to those three points, we provide economic schemes, it is very difficult to stop the next war. How can we stop war?

"The way to stop war is by Cooperative Movements—by cooperative international trade, cooperative marketing. Between Denmark and England they have a wonderful scheme of cooperative international trade. If we can have that kind of cooperative scheme, probably the next war will be postponed eternally. And if we Christians do not move toward the cooperative idea our

Christian movement is a very abstract movement. We believe in the Incarnation,—that the Spirit of God took human flesh; and we must have the Spirit of God incarnated into economic schemes and projects. I believe that only through Christian idealism will the Cooperative Movement come to its own.

"I have pointed out many phases of the Cooperative Movement,—the Producers' Cooperatives, Consumers' Cooperatives, Mutual Aid Societies, etc. They all need Christian idealism and Christian leadership. And we can base even our Christian philanthropic social work on the Cooperative system. For instance in the Honjo Church-settlement we made the settlement the center of the Cooperative Movement. For the poor people we must lend them some money. If money is given to them we make them beggars, so our plan is to lend it to them, with no idea of profiteering. When poor people come to us, we ask them to become members of our Cooperative Pawn Shop Credit Union. Ten sen is enough to become a member, and when we get profit we divide it among the shareholders. We have also a Consumers Cooperative, and a Cooperative Day Nursery, and we are trying to have a Sick Insurance Cooperative. We have also a Producers Cooperative.

"Can we not apply that kind of Cooperative

system between nations? Japan has, for instance, a national debt of about six billion yen. One and one-half billion yen of that is borrowed from abroad, and we are paying back each year to America and England. If we could organize Co-operatives between nations, there would be no difficulty nor talk about the graft of nations. At present we criticise the United States for taking too much gold from Japan, and they attack France because it is taking too much gold from England; but if we could have international Co-operative associations, there would then be no graft between nations. So it is necessary to apply the cooperative scheme which we have now today among individuals, to the nations. Then Europe will have peace and Asia also will have peace. Producers unions in China will have a market in Japan, and when we have some gains from them we shall return the profit to the Chinese producers. Then the war talk between China and Japan will disappear.

"Russia is scheming out that sort of a cooperative system; but I know that unless the cooperative system is based on Christian principles it is absolutely difficult to make it permanent. It is only through Christian principles and the Christian love of redemption that this cooperative scheme can be worked out.

"Moreover, I have the conviction that this is

the only solution for the problem of foreign missions. In the past more than eight thousand missionaries went to China; but most of the Chinese are very poor. They are so poor that the first thing I was impelled to do when I went to China two years ago, was to ask the Chinese friends to plant trees. In this project of tree-planting I have been very much inspired by a book called Tree Crops, by Prof. John Russell Smith of Columbia University. This book sells for three dollars in English, but we have translated and are going to publish it in Japan to sell for twenty sen.

"I want to give that book to every person in Japan. A single tree may bear a harvest of fifteen bushels per season. The big *kaya*[9] trees of Japan, however, may bear even more than this, of edible nuts from which oil can be taken. Do you know what I am preaching in the provinces? I preach that the Sermon on the Mount is true. I say, Jesus said, 'Look at the birds in the sky; look at the lily of the valley. They spin not; they toil not, but they have good garments, and they have no concern for food.' If you plant trees on the slopes of the mountains of Japan, chestnuts and walnuts you can gather in a crop of many bushels. And even if the population becomes greater they can live on the nuts. And they like my preaching very much!

[9] Kaya=Torreya nucifera, a large tree bearing edible nuts from which oil is commonly extracted.

"And in many places they have planted such trees. Five provinces have begun to adopt my ideas, and seriously to plant chestnuts around the lakes.

"I believe that the fruits of wisdom and knowledge are rice and wheat, while the trees of life were chestnuts, walnuts, kaya and acorns. Every year in Gifu Prefecture, one tree yields about five bushels of good acorns. These acorns yield 20% oil and 30% protein. We have most wonderful indigenous varieties of trees of that sort in Japan. But we have cut off those trees, so I am asking the country people to return to those trees of life, to plant them on the mountain slopes, and feed their fruit to pigs and hogs. And they think it is a good idea.

"Today I wrote an article for the Chuo Koron, the Central Review, on the theme that we are forgetting to utilize the mountain slopes of Japan. If we could utilize them, the fear of over-population of Japan would disappear. We have about nineteen million *cho* [10] of mountain slopes which we have not yet utilized. Four years ago the Seiyukai Cabinet, headed by Tanaka, studied the food and population question in Japan and were surprised to find that Japan is not utilizing the mountain slopes as they do in Europe.

"How can we teach them to utilize mountain slopes? Only through Cooperatives. There is a

[10] One cho=2.45 acres.

good example of this in Nagano Prefecture near Karuizawa. There are English walnut trees in Komoro which are doing a good job. Who gave those trees to Komoro? Probably Christian missionaries,—and it's the salvation of Nagano Prefecture. There is one village, for instance,—Awase Mura in Ogata County in Shinshu. This village has a combined debt of about eight hundred thousand yen, but the villagers think that when they have each planted 25 trees for 25 years, that although there are only 600 houses in the village, they can pay back all the farmers' debts through the English Walnut Cooperative!

"In Aomori Prefecture the farmers have been helped by apples! There was a certain Mr. Katsusaburo Sato, who received an apple from a missionary. That apple came from Indiana. Mr. Sato saved the apple and planted it, and the next year it came up, and now every year five million yen are realized on apples by Aomori Prefecture, and it became the salvation of Aomori Prefecture. So every year they send apples to the Emperor from Aomori, calling them 'Indo Shu,' not from India, but from Indiana! If Sato had eaten that apple, five million yen would not have come annually to poverty-stricken Aomori. All this from one apple, a Christian gift! The Emperor has decorated Mr. Sato, who is now blind. His son is a leading Methodist layman in Aomori Prefecture.

"Another example of Christians helping their communities by Christian love in economic solutions, is that of Mr. Hitomi in Fushimi, near Kyoto. Fushimi is a town of about 20,000 population. Thirty-six years ago it was facing a crisis. It was just after the Sino-Japanese War, and its business had collapsed. At that moment Mr. Hitomi, a disciple of Niijima, started to save two sen a day and asked seven of his friends to join him in this modest enterprise, which was for saving the town, not for their own profit. As only fifty yen was saved that first year, they increased the number to sixteen and called the society the 'Ju Roku Kwai' (Sixteen Society). Now twenty million yen have been saved, and with it they have built a free commercial school, a free library, a free pawn shop, a free dispensary, and a Credit Cooperative Association. That Christian who started saving two sen a day literally saved that town, which at the start manufactured little else than sake, rice wine.

"The same sort of thing began forty years ago during the economic depression of the Meiji Era, at Imaharu, a town on the Shikoku Island in the Inland Sea, with a large population but no means of employment. Therefore one of the very few Christians, Mr. Yano, the son of a famous family, became a manual laborer. He went to the mainland and learned how to weave, and then came back to his town and served as a laborer.

He formed a society named *Airinsha,* the Society of Neighborly Love, consisting of twenty-five Christians. That society grew until today there are two hundred and fifty weaving companies in Imaharu, and about ninety percent of all the face towels in Japan are manufactured in this one town. The town has erected a large monument in memory of this Mr. Yano, and it is very easy to preach Christianity in Imaharu.

"Therefore, what we must do in Japan is to help the poor, not only by giving money, but to help them to *organize* Producers Cooperatives, Utility Cooperatives, Mutual Aid Sick Insurance and Medical Cooperatives. There are 3,200 villages in Japan which have no doctors nor dispensaries. When the prevailing economic depression drove them to do so, the physicians left these villages, because they could not get enough money to live on from them. But if we can organize medical Cooperatives these Cooperatives can afford to pay the doctors a dependable salary. This was my chief reason in starting the Physicians Utility Cooperative in Tokyo,—to thus provide an example and through it educate the physicians and the general public, so that eventually we shall be able to start Cooperatives which will maintain doctors in the 3,200 village-areas which now have none.

"Individual charity is good but it has its limita-

tions. We must give the people Cooperatives. Then they can help themselves. But we find that Cooperatives do not turn out well without Christian idealism. Therefore when the Doshisha started a Department of Sociology, I urged them to include in it a course on how to start Cooperatives.

"Because of the economic depression now the people have no money, and yet we need hospitals for the poor, so we need some credit system by which to teach them how to organize Cooperatives. We need a Cooperative Medical Association. We need also Credit Unions through cooperative schemes, Producers Unions through cooperative schemes, Utility Unions, and Consumers Unions, etc., through the same cooperative schemes. Love means cooperative sacrifice, cooperative redemption. We Christians have a most wonderful system of love—*why do we not apply it to practical things?* Therefore I am asking the Doshisha professors to teach the Cooperative scheme to Japan, and to use their graduates as leaders for the Cooperative Associations. Then we shall have a solid basis both for love and for food. No use to go to Manchuria to trouble our dear neighbors of China.

"But we have a most distressing situation in Japan. We have about two million five hundred thousand fishermen, but they are so poor that they

cannot buy big boats. They have 307,000 boats, but mostly small ones. Do you know that with boats only seventy feet long they go to Manila,—over thirty days, to Vancouver, to Mexico! They are going out more and more to the deep sea. They have no place to go so they go to the ocean, in boats intended only for shallow waters and coast navigation.

"The Cooperatives solve this problem also. There is a fishing town named Yaizu which has a wonderful cooperative scheme for buying boats and fishing nets, and so their boats and nets are the best in Japan. All the Yaizu fishermen buy through the Cooperative, and so get better boats and better nets in Japan. Can we not *organize* such Cooperative Associations in other fishing villages, among both fishermen and townspeople?

"If, for instance, we can get one million yen we can start a most wonderful Cooperative movement, showing them kindness, showing them self-help. Not charity, but Christian love in practice. Then they will *see* Christianity. We want to try that system of cooperative love among nations. Then the white race, the black race, the yellow race, the brown and the red races, all races will love each other with cooperative love, and we shall see that the teachings of Christ are the only solution or hope for world peace.

"We must practice this cooperative love more

than we preach. The Japanese young men have *read* many books. They have good books; they have heard good preachers. But what they want is to find out the real solution of the economic trouble through cooperative love, without profiteering and without graft, with the Christian cooperative idea alone. Then probably we shall have national peace again, and international peace for the coming centuries."

(x)

China and the True Democracy

"Because China is suffering, China needs the Gospel. Even though you may suffer persecution here when you propagate it, the Gospel is needed. Two years ago when I was in Dairen, there were hundreds of thousands of refugees from China coming to that port. In the morning I went to the wharf and was amazed at the number of coolies to be found there. I am an admirer of those Shantung coolies. They live all together in a small space, but they are the best type of coolie. After once seeing them, I can never stop praying for them. I wrote of the sight to the Japanese daily newspapers; and of the three hundred dead refugees whom I saw at the station at Harbin, dead under the snow, dead of hunger. At that time we in Japan in our Friends of Jesus

group began to pray for these refugees, and for all who are suffering now in China.

"Jesus Christ told us that we must be good samaritans. The priest and the levite passed by on the other side, but we must bring economic emancipation, psychological emancipation, social emancipation, physical emancipation, and political emancipation. The result is to establish five kinds of democracy: Economic, or industrial democracy; social democracy; spiritual democracy; physical democracy, and political democracy.

"(1) *Industrial Democracy* means that no one is allowed to exploit others.

"(2) *Social Democracy* means that *children,* as sons of God, must be honored; *negroes,* as sons of God must be respected; the *yellow men,* also, as sons of God, must be respected; and even *white men* also, as sons of God, must be respected. Here in the Gospel of Christ lies the true social democracy. Until Christ came, children were not honored, and women were subjected to men. But where Christ came, social democracy was recognized. God is the basis of real social democracy.

"(3) *Spiritual Democracy* means that God is brought down to humankind. Here is the great teaching of the Incarnation. I believe in the truth of the Incarnation. Christ is the Man Who came from God. In the flesh He represents God. Christ is not a ghostly being at all. He came from

God and lived in the flesh. He cleansed this flesh and we are made the sons of God here, in this spiritual democracy.

"(4) *Physical Democracy* means that life is the same for every human being. Life itself is the basis for life. We each have only one stomach, and we have a right each of us to fill our stomachs. That is the basis of physical democracy. We have a right to sleep; we have a right to work. Unless Christ had taught us how to work and how to honor laborers, probably we should not have ascribed honor to labor.

"(5) *Political Democracy.* There are two kinds of political democracy:—Man's democracy, and God's democracy. Greece and Rome are instances of what I mean by man's democracy,—a democracy for free citizens, but not a democracy for foreigners or for slaves. On the other hand, true democracy, the democracy based on God, looks upon everyone as equal. It elevates humankind to the level of God. In Soviet Russia everyone is brought down to pauperism, to the proletarian level. The democracy of Christ, however, brings man up to the level of a king. In the twenty-second chapter of Revelation it is written that Christians are made kings (Rev. 2:5). The democracy of Christ is a king's democracy—of not merely one king, but of kings. Everyone is made a king in the democracy of

God. Everyone is a king. More than that, everyone is a son of God. We are greater than kings. We are sons of God.

"These five kinds of democracy of which we have been talking are the true meaning of the Gospel. But unless they are realised it is in vain that we preach about them. So Christ did not merely preach; He acted as a King, as an organizer. He organized the Kingdom. He accomplished mighty works, miracles. 'Miracle' means a saving act, an act of lovingkindness. Do you study the miracles carefully? Many of you may doubt the miracles, but I believe in them. Miracles happen to lost sheep. If you are not astrayed, no miracle will happen. Look at these Gospel stories—how the poor were saved, the sick cured—and, because they were suffering, poor, miserable, and blind—to them the miracles happened. I believe in the miracles of God. Miracles do not conflict with science. Natural science is concerned with Nature, but miracles are concerned with psychology. Miracles never happen without love. Salvation means the love of God in operation. Because salvation was offered, the miracles happened.

"Christ was a real priest, He was the High Priest of humanity. The priesthood of Jesus Christ lies in His own consciousness. He died on the Cross, not because he was a miracle-doer, but

because he was a priest. The more we study the Epistle to the Hebrews, the more we understand that Christ was the Redeemer. The German theologians did not understand this. But Jesus Christ is a Redeemer. He entered heaven as the Redeemer, as the High Priest, as the messenger from God to the lost sheep.

"There are three stages of human progress:—first, the *Unconscious Stage,* when men kill one another, as in war, without any sense of guilt. You may have seen them on the battlefield, watching to see if the enemy has fallen, and if he does fall, shouting "Banzai! He is dead! Hurrah!"

"After the unconscious, comes the *Semi-conscious stage,* represented by the Old Testament period in Jewish history, when prophets appear, and denounce evils, and men begin to feel uneasy in their consciences because of the evils they have become responsible for, and offer sacrifices of animals to atone for their sins.

"But the time will come when we are awakened to the whole consciousness of our crimes and sin and responsibility to God.

"When that time comes, man realizes that the sacrifice of an animal, the sacrifice of a lamb or of a bull, is not sufficient. As man's religious experience advances, he realizes that the true sacrifice must be a human being, and the true priest one who has perfected his life-of-conscience, one

who is perfect—the Christ. But that 'Day of Jesus Christ' will never come until man is fully conscious. Without the consciousness of our whole awakened heart, and full consciousness of God, we have no use for Redemption.

"And immediately man does become fully conscious, he realizes, not only his own need to believe in the Redemption Christ accomplished for him, he realizes, also, that he himself must become a redeemer. I have a sore on my left little finger. My right little finger, meanwhile, seems very far away from it, entirely removed from it. Nevertheless tonight I shall have a fever all over my body, even in my right little finger, simply because the one left little finger is inflamed.

"In the unconscious stage, the right little finger has no sense of relation to the sore on the left little finger. But the relationship exists all the same, and in the half awakened condition, the right little finger begins to feel uneasy; while in the fully awakened stage, the right little finger feels a sense of responsibility for the finger that is sore. When the human being that is represented by this little finger finds out that he has connection with the whole body, even with its sore spot, he feels that he must go to the sore and cure it, and all the causative conditions that affect it.

"Nineteenth century German theologians in

their libraries lost sight of this need of the Redemption of the world; but missionaries on the front line know the need of Redemption. And those of us who work in the slums feel the need of Christ's Redemption, for our slum people. We realize that the body politic is sick, because of its sore spots. We realize the need of redemption. We all need redemption; we need the blood of Jesus. Jesus came in the consciousness of God, in His flesh, and for the purpose of redeeming us. That is the meaning of His death on the Cross.

"We must also be redeemers, and carry the Cross. We must be small Christs. We ought to go to the Shantung famine district, and carry the cross for the famine sufferers. In Japan we have many experiences of the joy of redemption. Christ as a Prophet, as a Miracle Doer, as a Super Man, as a High Priest, fulfilled the Old Testament prophecies, is the Son of God, and is living to this day. Things may change; Time will pass away; but Christ is the Love of humanity, the Love of God manifested to man. Christ will never fail. Christ belongs to eternity. Because the religion of Jesus is the religion of love and redemption, I believe this religion is the eternal religion. Therefore I am not afraid to be criticised. I stand here and I stand for Christ.

"But if the Gospel is preached simply with words, merely as by a prophet, people will not be

convinced. We must be *kind,* and practise, and realize in action, the love of Christ. There must be the consciousness of the Redeemer all the time. Then people will know that we are something real.

"In His Steps let us follow!"

CONCLUSION

THE MODERN SPIRIT AND THE ANCIENT EAST [1]

LET us glance in conclusion at some of the attitudes of our times and the light cast on them by these Asiatic thinkers.

(i)

"Words," said Confucius, "must be made to fit things." It is a counsel of perfection: they hardly ever do. For like the Chinese characters of which he was thinking, they are at best symbols. But his was an age of transition like ours, and he strove to cling to old values which were being lost. At such times words are themselves changing their meaning, and much hangs upon redefining them. An English philosopher who has been teaching in China has written a book called "The Meaning of Meaning," and has decided to write another on "The Meaning of Meaning of Meaning." He finds ample illustration in the long history of Asia of this continual

[1] Parts of this appeared in *The Saturday Review of Literature* of August 22, 1931, under the title, "What is the Modern Mind?" The material is reprinted by permission.

change. Each generation must try to keep pace with the words it uses, and ours is playing strange tricks with words. We hear soldiers described as "militarists" when they very seldom are: and a "humanist" may be anything according to the context.

The word "modernism" is also in this fluid condition, and in the same books it is often used to mean several different things. Mr. Lippmann in his "Preface to Morals" uses it here of the scientific spirit of experimentation and there of the very unscientific spirit of city-dwellers in whose minds "whirl is king." Its adjective "modern" is in even worse case. When applied to art, it sometimes means something very like "primitive," as the modern age harks back to such primitives as African fetishes. Modern music has developed largely through a return to mediaeval folksongs—breaking away from classical models, recognized as bonds. So modern furniture may be anything which is not imitative of a classical past, which seeks beauty in structural efficiency, and refuses to cover up the fine texture of its wood or metal. This is, of course, the essence of *old* Japanese architecture and furniture; what makes it modern for us is the spirit of revolt and experiment, the spirit of honesty. We are bluntly honest in uncovering other things too; but so was Terence, and so were Elizabethans and Caroleans.

The furniture of the mind is more slowly adapted to changed conditions, and we often find a very unmodern mind lodged in a body which flies in aeroplanes, and uses all the machinery of modern life to its own mediaeval ends. To belong to the age of invention is not necessarily to be modern. Nor is the modern spirit merely that of the "invention of invention," as Mr. Lippmann suggests. It is in large measure a revolt against the mechanical and the standardized. If this is the Ford era, it is also the era of revolt against Ford.

Mr. Ford is modern indeed in his own sphere, a pioneer and an innovator, but he has been mid-Victorian in his paternalism, and mediaeval in his anti-semitism. We are all partly modern and partly un-modern; a man like William Morris who understands the social and economic trends of his time may live in a mediaeval house and seek the expression of mediaeval beauty in the modern world.

If revolt and honesty and experimentation are key-words of the modern age another is "partnership." It is deep-rooted in the natural order. Einstein says "there is partnership between Time and Space," and biology recognizes that the successful insects and animals are the coöperative ones. Man must catch up with nature! Partnership is gradually taking the place of paternalism

in the family, in the school, in government, in business, and in race relations. It is the spirit which recognizes the supreme values of personality and of freedom.

It is this attitude which is changing so much of our thinking about sex, and Mr. Krutch's "The Modern Temper" deals largely with this changing emphasis. This attitude of respect and coöperation is a religious attitude, one of reverence. It is opposed to those very things which many, Mr. Krutch among them, hail as the hallmarks of modernism. They are "humanists" in the strict sense that they oppose any theistic view of the universe which they call loveless as well as godless, whereas a nerve of partnership is to be found in the old view of a democratic God who, having made the rules of the universe, yet allows his creatures freedom to break them. It is the religious view of Personality human and divine. All such attempts as Mr. Lippmann's to superannuate theocracy will fail, for it is rooted in those very fastnesses of "high religion" which he finds most modern. So Hu Shih in seeking to get rid of theism is unphilosophical. The Christian Platonism of the Fourth Gospel accepts the divine will as its foundation, and gives itself to the description of the creative reason at work among men. Buddhism, which Mr. Lippmann rightly takes as another type of high religion, postulates

a universe lawful to the core; it soon developed into the cult of an eternal Buddha, whose children and servants men are, free to accept or to refuse his offer of salvation.

These are the august systems which Hu Shih lightly dismisses. But modern philosophy makes much of personal values and naturalism will soon be as dead as materialism. The truly modern spirit is very far, too, from being determinist. "I may be an ass," says a modern scientist, "but I am not an automaton"; it is unscientific to deny freedom to man, and to attribute it to the atom.[2] The determinist position is untenable; and no great physicist was ever a materialist. From Bacon to Clerk Maxwell, Kelvin, Eddington and Einstein, students of matter have seen very clearly that, as Jeans puts it, "the universe looks more like a great thought than a great machine." They know too much about matter to be materialists. And great biologists know too much about the mechanisms of life to be mechanists. They recognize the amazing coördination—"wheels within wheels"—of this machine of ours.

As to the revolt against law—there is nothing very modern about that. Man like the rest of nature is subject to law; he alone resents it! But it is clear that democracy is at stake in the pres-

[2] "God," said a grandson of William James at the age of eight, "is the self-starter."

ent lawlessness. And cynicism, like pessimism, is a symptom not of the modern temper but of an ancient distemper which attacks flabby societies. The iron enters their soul as it leaves their arteries. Work and duty are the best tonics for this anaemia.

It is tabus which the modern man must get rid of, not sanctions; and much modernism is concerned with this sloughing off of inhibitions. Just as—just because—Protestantism made so much of sex in its ethic, so modernism is a new Protestantism, making revolt against outworn tabus its very citadel. But while a revolt against shams in this field is timely and healthy, experimentation is neither!

The modern man will be in sympathy with this revolt; but he will not lightly throw away those things by which society has advanced, to seize at every new fashion. He will recognize that it is impossible to be modern in everything; but will seek truth, trying to understand new movements such as those in psychology, mathematics, and physics—still hidden from our philosophy departments for the most part, however modernist they may have seemed a few years ago. He will ask the humanist, "Have you taken man as your measure, or only a part of man" and will confront the later pragmatists with their founder in America. He will insist with William James

that "the mystic has massive historic vindication," and recognize that out of this strange experience of certain gifted minds have come some of the most astonishing revolutions in history. Here the modern Orient has much to say to us.

(ii)

East and West the atmosphere to-day is, I believe, more friendly to religion than it has been in the past two hundred years. The West is coming to understand that its heritage consists of three great component parts, the legacy of Greece, of Israel, and the scientific spirit and its application to human betterment—which is their offspring.

We owe all we are to Hellas "the nurse of man complete as man," and to "Judea pregnant with the love of God," to Greece the mother country of the mind and to Israel the mother country of the soul.

The Jewish quest for God established an ideal of social righteousness which we are far from having realized: the Greek quest for truth and beauty still shines as a beacon before us. And these two find their fulfilment in Christianity, which is so far from being exhausted that there is still a sting in Nietzsche's aphorism, "There was only one Christian, and He died on the cross." Yet while our business world and our

international and interracial conduct are very far from being Christian there is much that is Christian in the unselfish service and the spirit of detachment of the man of science, of the doctor, of the nurse, of the teacher,—and there are many patches of Christian living in Christendom.

There is a noble passage in Pupin's autobiography, "From Immigrant to Inventor," in which we find his illiterate but cultured Serbian mother bidding him, when he had absorbed all he could at Columbia, to go on and sit at the feet of the "saints of Cambridge." What a true scale of values is here and what insight! For Columbia had not then established its claim to be "one of the seven great hilltops of the world," and Cambridge was already noted for the great line of torch-bearers, the physicists. These are her "saints." They have lately reminded us that we live in a world which must be conceived rather as a great mind than as a great machine, and long before this the great Newton said that a scientist was like a child picking up pebbles on the shore of eternity. When we study God's universe we find everywhere the marks of his handiwork, so that the greatest of our living mathematical philosophers transplanted to the new Cambridge says that "God is the poet of the universe," and the most scientific of Victorian poets, also a Cambridge man, said that if God

withdrew his attention the cosmos would crumble into dust. It is not Cambridge that is the home of lost causes.

But opposed to this view there has been that of many biologists, who took over their physics at second-hand, did not realize that terms, like matter and energy, are only shorthand labels, and built up a materialistic philosophy which in enlightened countries is now dead as the dodo, but lives on in many American schools and colleges. The mechanistic psychology is also, I think, elsewhere in its death throes: leaders like Adler of Vienna are insisting that the idea in the mind is what determines man's destiny: this he says is far more potent than heredity or the physical environment. In other words causality *does* rule here—and man can control the chief causes.

It is pleasant to find Bertrand Russell, another Cambridge mathematician, among the prophets, insisting on the many subjective elements in the minds of the mechanists: animals in American laboratories behave with the restless energy of Americans, those in German laboratories with the methodical thoroughness of the Teuton. And we may pause to point out that it is this temperamental element which largely determines the prophecies of the men of science. To a Huxley the world is intolerably old, to a Jeans it is running down, to a Millikan it is cheerfully recreat-

ing itself with shouts of hallelujah in the form of cosmic rays, which are the birth-cries of new matter recreated in inter-stellar space. Mathematicians and scientists are, in fact, like theologians and poets, human beings; and life is the teacher of us all.

A great audience which had paid a high price for its seats gathered lately to hear Bertrand Russell on "How to be Happy." With great charm and simplicity he preached a mid-Victorian sermon under four headings: (1) Have a nice wife, (2) Beget healthy children, (3) Find a good job, (4) Leave the world better than you found it. In education we have prophets like Meiklejohn touring the country and telling us that the real way to go forward in American education is to go back to the college of the Middle Ages, the ages of faith as we call them, when religion was a business. Now business has become a religion; and it isn't a very satisfactory one. He advises us in a word to make religion the basis of everything, the atmosphere as well as the subject of scientific study. And here I will put in one more plea, that it be not segregated as if it belonged to a few freaks, but be given its proper place in the curriculum, in history, literature, art, philosophy. Secularism is not a success: it never was intelligent.

Of the other points in Dr. Meiklejohn's pro-

gram, modesty forbids a Cambridge man to speak; yet he rejoices to see the tutorial system regaining its place, and residential colleges arising also in New England. So you may get back the real religious values of the ages of faith, when young people were not lectured to by illiterate Ph.D.'s but talked over life's problems with wise tutors. Let them gather once more in college chapels as well as in stadia and there let a positive working ideal of life be set before them and the Gospel preached. We are reminded by historians like Zimmern that history "repeats itself if we let it," and we are beginning to realize that man does not live by bread alone. In the industrial world we are reaping the nemesis of setting the machine above the man, and learning through bitter experience that the human values are the real values. It looks as if the facts of overproduction were going to drive us, where socialism would have led us, to the five-day week, and even Henry Ford is discovering that men cannot be turned into machines. They are in fact refusing to become robots.

The workers demand not paternalism but partnership—not patronage but justice.

A rising tide of indignation is going to make it impossible for the president of a great company to pocket $9,000,000 while competent workmen are turned away, and the public conscience is at

last stirring as it discovers balance-sheets where "oil-tug" means "private yacht for president" and "travel-expenses" mean "Lincoln-car for sedentary vice-president."

If James Truslow Adams is right, and he surely is, the American epic is the rise of the common man, and he is going to claim his heritage in no uncertain tones. This is a religious ideal—and it explains Abraham Lincoln, the true American saint—the prophet of true democracy.

The atmosphere is then more friendly to religion than at any time during the past two hundred years. It is respectable intellectually, as it is urgent economically to bring back the view of human society as a family of God. Indeed, we may say to the economists that "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof," and to the politicians that unless nations learn to ration the raw materials of the earth, there is little prospect that our civilization will endure.

That is what the Christian religion teaches. It insists that the great things can be bought only at a great price, that you cannot have your cake and eat it, that if you want peace you must build for peace. The scramble for markets and the cut-throat methods of big business landed us in the Great War, and we seem to be getting ready for a bigger and better one.

From this Christianity offers to save us. It

offers the moral leadership of the world to a nation which will take risks and make sacrifices. It reminds us that the Kingdom of God, which is the sum of the ideal values, must claim our first loyalty. People who do not recognize these ideals cannot be called modern people, however freely they may use our mechanical conveniences. On can fly in an airplane to a meeting of the Ku Klux Klan as easily as to an international conference, and we all know how the telephone can be most irreligiously abused. And what shall we do with our airplanes and gases? They are good servants, bad masters; let us control them for great social and religious ends. Even Gandhi is realizing this. Reviling our machine civilization he goes under the surgeon's knife, enjoying the benefits of chloroform, speaks over the radio to millions, and teaches his very modern philosophy of "partnership all round" by gramophone records and loudspeakers. Hu Shih goes farther, and in his enthusiasm for our applied science and our betterment of conditions for the masses is in danger of forgetting the many noble reinforcements which our Graeco-Hebraic civilization may find in ancient China. To some of these he has indeed directed our attention; but he is now turning China from them. Yet state socialism was very fully employed in China in the interests of the peasants when the Normans were conquering

England. And in India "detachment" (which Lippmann finds to be hallmark of all "higher religion") is the central teaching of the "Gita." Alas, it inspires the young anarchist no less than the gentle Gandhi, and we must seek a truer criterion to-day.

I have suggested that in partnership we may find the hallmark of our times; the age of paternalism is past, and in partnership, which is the spirit of brotherly love, we may find a key to unlock many doors. It will enable us to run our families, our business and our politics as we cannot run them without it. It is the spirit which Gandhi is seeking to inculcate in India, and Kagawa in Japan. Their programs of social reform are essentially programs of partnership—between class and class, men and women, race and race.

(iii)

The true hallmarks of the modern spirit then are these:

1. The spirit of inquiry and the fearless search for truth. This is as modern as the Greeks.

2. Revolt against tradition: There is a great deal of this in the Hebrew prophets and the Greek tragedians and comedians.

3. The desire to get rid of shams, and the

frankness of its coarseness are not new. These are sometimes marks of fatigue in creativeness and often of cynicism. The spirit of experiment is largely good; yet there are certain fields in which experiment is disastrous, and here the wisdom of the ages must be allowed to speak. For the rest, religion asks nothing better than experiment. It is based on experience, which is "the process of becoming expert by experiment." The Mystics are the real experts in religion.

4. The spirit of detachment which is so admirable in the man of science is taught by the higher religions. It is the "single eye" and the uncalculating spirit of Jesus and the Sermon on the Mount. It is the main teaching of the "Gita."

5. Partnership. This is a key which religion itself offers, and it fits many locks.

6. As to the "invention of invention," there is a confident spirit in better things yet to be, and a faith in man's ability to master his environment which are essentially religious. Man revolts against mechanization not against the use of the machine.

(iv)

As Gandhi insists, there is no God higher than Truth, no other God than Truth. And Christ insists that men are of more importance than machines, that the spirit of service is better than

the desire for profit, that he is the greatest among men who serves most, and that without sacrifice no great achievement is possible. These are his central principles, as he emphasizes personality, its rights, privileges and duties. It is the experience of the Church at its best that in Him there is neither bond nor free, Jew nor Greek, male nor female; that is, that the problems of sex, class and race are potentially solved by the spirit of mutual respect and reverence which we learn best from Him, and realize best in the mystical body of the Church.

Religion was to him the love of God and of man. It is to all of us the spirit of loyalty to the highest, the sense of wonder at its mystery and beauty, the attempt to see life steadily and see it whole. In Kagawa Asia will find a more potent leader than either Gandhi or Hu Shih—for he is a servant of Christ the Universal Son of Man. His personality is our best symbol of the Godhead: in his ethics we find our most universal norm.

The philosophy of our times is turning back more and more to personality as its main concept, and theology to the person of Jesus in its unique and original synthesis of those high qualities which he taught. There is, too, in the field of ethics a growing conviction that ethical ideals, however much the expression of them may

vary from age to age, are independent of human consciousness, that values have self-existence; or better that they are like the ideas of Plato, rooted in the very nature of the cosmos. This is what the great teachers have seen, calling these higher values *God* or *Tao* or *Dharma,* and to these a Gandhi and a Kagawa adhere. Upon them they build a more permanent structure than the rationalist and the humanist can build upon any other foundation. And the rationalist's belief in Reason like the humanist's belief in man are aspects of a reverence for the world we live in which, thought out, will lead to mysticism.

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